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ABSTRACT

A collection of eight papers from seven foreign countries and the United States, this technical report of the "Creativity of the School" workshop held in Portugal in 1972 presents statements of existing positions on educational innovation in eight countries. Among the topics discussed are reform in French-speaking Belgian schools, decentralization of decision-making in Norway, factors in innovation at French secondary school levels, democratization in the Netherlands schools, factors affecting innovation in Portuguese schools, promotion of innovation in the Federal Republic of Germany, and the role of the New Jersey State Department of Education in promoting educational innovation. (DW)

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CREATIVITY OF THE SCHOOL

Technical Report No. 1

The present position in Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States (State of New Jersey)

Companion volumes, published separately, are :

Creativity of the School : *A report based on presentations made to a workshop at Estoril, Portugal, 21-25 November 1972, organised by CERI in collaboration with the Portuguese Ministry of National Education.*

Creativity of the School, Technical Report No. 2
A survey of Research in 12 countries

EA 007 225

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1974
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INTRODUCTION

"Creativity of the School" was the name given by the Centre of Educational Research and Innovation, OECD, in collaboration with the Portuguese Ministry of National Education, to a "workshop" convened to consider how to strengthen the capacity of the school to deal with innovation. It took place in Estoril, Portugal from 21st to 25th November, 1972 and had some 60 participants from 17 countries.

A general report of this Workshop, including a number of the papers presented there, has already been published. Not included, however, were the numerous authoritative communications on specific topics that were prepared for pre-reading. These, however, are no less deserving of availability to a wider readership - indeed, they have already been the subject for considerable cross-reference in the published papers - and they have, therefore, been collected in the present volume, Technical Report No. 1, as statements of the existing position vis-à-vis creativity of the school in 8 countries. Technical Report No. 2 will give a survey of relevant research in 12 countries - an undertaking recommended as useful by participants in the Workshop.

Although a number of the authors in Technical Report No. 1 hold official appointments in their home countries, it should be recognised that they have written here in a personal capacity and that any opinions they may have expressed are their own.

I. REFORM AND INNOVATION IN PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN FRENCH-SPEAKING SCHOOLS IN BELGIUM

by

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GENERAL SITUATION

1. Schools in Belgium may be State-controlled, administered by the provincial or communal authorities or run by private individuals. The great majority of the private schools are Catholic, but there are also Protestant and Jewish institutions and schools that are either non-religious or uncommitted. The State subsidises schools run by the provincial or communal authorities and by private individuals under the terms and procedures laid down in the Act of 29th May, 1959.

One of the terms of this Act is that schools shall adopt the structure and syllabuses in force in State schools or such as are approved by the Ministry.

Although the organisers of subsidised schools sometimes complain of the tutelage and control exercised by the State, the system is in fact run on lines that afford them a very extensive degree of freedom. Cases in which the authorities oppose important initiatives by subsidised schools are fairly rare. The Act of 29th May, 1959 also guarantees pedagogical freedom. Government inspectors have no powers in this field. Diplomas issued by educational institutions carry no official weight unless they conform to the requirements of the Act. Here too the Belgian system is very liberal as there are no State examinations. Joint ratification boards (commissions d'homologation) consisting of an equal number of teachers from the State and private educational systems verify that educational standards are maintained in all types of schools (both State and private) but schools are left free to decide as to the success or failure of their pupils. This supervision is based on individual school programmes.

2. This brief description might suggest that apart from State schools (which are run by the Ministry under very strict regulations based on legislation, royal decrees and ministerial orders) most schools in the Belgian educational system are in a favourable position to foster the individual development of new ideas. It must, however, be borne in mind that freedom may be used not only to facilitate innovation but also to resist it.

The conclusion is inescapable that the existing opportunities for initiative and renewal are used only by a few advanced schools (although even these are guided by teaching ideas that originated before the Second World War, i.e. Decroly and Freinet) and only for a number of limited schemes (changes in timetables or, in certain curricula, the use of new technological facilities, special methods and techniques). We are therefore faced with the paradox that since 1947 the boldest and most far-reaching innovations have been initiated within the State educational system, i.e. the most structured sector.

The fact is that the determination of general objectives is not only a philosophical question but has largely become a social and political issue. These objectives can no longer be worked out by an individual or a small group but need to be planned on a large scale. It is characteristic that the Catholic education system is trying to improve its structures and that the major authorities (e.g. the provinces) are tending to increase and institutionalise contacts between each other and equip themselves with educational services. Furthermore, no educational system can now afford to have a solely ethical basis: it must also have a scientific infrastructure and make increasing use of a wide range of technology. Nor is any single individual or small team now capable of controlling this constantly changing and expanding complex. There must be a whole organisation to collect, collate, process and circulate information and to facilitate meetings, contacts and exchanges.

3. In other terms, in an organised community such as ours where information has to be circulated very rapidly and systematically, any purposeful act of innovation (and purposeful connotes relevance and efficiency) calls for:

1. participation in a great collective move to clarify and adapt educational objectives and embody the community's ethical and social aspirations in a far-ranging common outlook;
2. participation in scientific educational research.

In both cases "participation" is the operative term. If the major options affecting general objectives and procedures for organising education are to be taken by the responsible authorities (political and others) it must be realised that they are more likely to be realistic and be reflected in teaching practice if all concerned in the educational process (teachers, parents, pupils and students) have been fully enlisted in the operation. Conversely, when teachers and schools are given the maximum encouragement to prove themselves inventive and creative vis-à-vis curricula and methods, what hope is there that these initiatives can be valuable if they are not part of a coherent and adequate educational process? All these considerations show the complexity of the factors involved.

In education and in other areas, innovation in itself has no value. It is not an aimless piece of byplay. It cannot be achieved by jumping on every new bandwagon and least of all by adopting every new technique. In a community like ours it cannot acquire any meaning unless it grows out of a fairly clear conception of the community's ethical and social needs and culminates in concerted action.

Moreover, education is not an institution that essentially or necessarily has an innovating function. Its members have always tended to respect the achievements of the past rather than to prepare for the future. It is not an enterprise which is ever overtaken by some swift penalty if there should be any falling off in its effectiveness or productivity. The only alarm system is a vague disquiet which comes over pupils and parents and spreads to the economic and social environment. Teachers who become aware of this disquiet understandably tend to blame it on the inadequacies of the community as a whole and on the declining intelligence of the young generation.

4. If a creative approach is to be fostered in any school community or individual teacher it is therefore essential:

i) to associate the teaching staff in the task of selecting the general educational objectives and the educational objectives that are peculiar to each discipline or activity;

ii) to be as clear as possible about general and specific educational objectives and the available means of achieving them (methods, techniques and, in certain cases, curricula);

iii) to give teachers the fullest information about the facilities at their disposal and organise frequent meetings of teachers (with the most varied backgrounds) to discuss possibilities of utilising results, etc.;

iv) to introduce working conditions that encourage teachers to adopt a creative approach to the objectives they are asked to achieve;

v) to scrutinise the work done by the teachers in order to verify whether the objectives are adequate, which bring us back to item i).

This means that a dynamic educational structure is like an endless chain along which information is ceaselessly circulating to enable action to be constantly checked.

Description of a reformed system

5. All countries and all educational authorities are faced with this problem and their solutions vary. Here we will describe a system which has been built up in Belgium on very empirical lines, under rather precarious administrative, budgetary and policy conditions and as part of a reform (which it is hoped will be fundamental) of the State secondary education system which is controlled by the Ministry of Education and covers all French-speaking schools.

Extension of the Belgian reform

6. The reform is based on voluntary action. Each school introduces it after the teachers have been consulted by the Head and contact has been established with the parents. The number of schools selected in the first year was reduced to 22 (there were 80 applicants) in order to foster the maximum number of contacts at all levels, and between one level and another, in developing all facilities likely to promote the achievement of the objectives.

The scheme has since been extended thus:

French-speaking State schools		
1969-1970		22
1970-1971	a further	70
1971-1972	a further	45
1972-1973	a further	20

The present participation then, is 157 out of a total of 258 French-speaking State schools.

General objectives, timetables, programmes

7. The general objectives and timetables for the reform were fixed by the Minister after extensive consultations. The inspectors were then asked to draw up a number of provisional programmes - very rapidly and with the co-operation of the teachers, at their own convenience. To ensure a minimum of experienced advice in the arrangements made for operationalising the objectives, a number of committees were set up several months afterwards by the Direction Générale de l'Administration des Etudes (General Directorate for the Administration of Studies). These committees were quite numerous (37 in 1971-1972) and had 20 to 40 members and sometimes more. They were mainly composed of inspectors, teachers (including those at reformed schools), heads of schools and university specialists. All programmes for the first two years (first degree) were completed within two years.

As and when the documents drawn up by the committees were finalised they were submitted to the Central Reform Commission which is under the chairmanship of the Minister or his delegate and comprises the heads of the administrative authorities concerned, the inspectors-general and a number of inspectors with specific functions in connection with the introduction of the reform. The task of this Commission is to centralise all information relating

to the development of the reform and either to take the necessary steps itself or submit proposals to the Ministry.

Needless to say, the meticulous work done by the programme committees made it possible to clarify objectives, rectify timetables and detect difficulties calling for further investigation. These results were accomplished through a process of constant discussion.

Development of the reform

8. In addition to the work done by the programme committees, the heads of the first 22 schools have been holding regular meetings of their committee since September 1969. This committee is designed to clarify administrative problems that arise with the development of the reform and propose solutions; it has done much to evolve new methods for assessing the progress of pupils and promoting them from one class to another. Subsequently, to cope with the extension of the reform, a number of regional committees consisting of heads of schools in each district have been set up. Meeting at their own convenience, these committees decide their own agenda and enable their members to aid one another with the problems they have to face. Contacts are also fostered between teachers, particularly in connection with establishing arrangements for pupil evaluation. Two counsellors from the psycho-medical social centres sit on each committee, whatever its objective, to provide their centres with information that enables them to adapt their policies in the light of the prevailing trends.

The concepts of the programme

9. The concepts of the programme are fundamentally different from that which obtained previously. In the first four years, at least, the programme generally takes the form of a statement of overall educational objectives, a description of types of behaviour worth promoting and suggestions for activities calculated to further the aims defined.

There is rarely any hard-and-fast content and the teacher has to shoulder the responsibility himself. He is advised to base his teaching on practical problems and this in most cases involves a pluri-disciplinary approach in which teachers of different subjects are bound to co-operate.

Enlisting teachers in the scheme

10. A great effort has been made to inform teachers by means of circulars, articles, meetings at school, meetings on the initiative of individual teachers, and suchlike. Indeed, it was always intended to make information part of the reform process, which has been unquestionably fostered by the fact that the views of the staff are solicited before the school commits itself. In the course of this the functions of the class counsel have been extended, discussions between teachers from different schools are promoted by meetings and the issue of a liaison bulletin, teachers participate substantially in the programme committees, programmes are circulated to all teachers concerned, teachers' views are requested before reports are submitted to the Ministry for decision and consultation, and sessions are repeatedly organised by heads of schools. It may be concluded that the results are fairly satisfactory and that generally speaking the interest of the teachers concerned has in fact been enlisted in the current operations. Special mention should be made of the trend in the directives which concern pupil evaluation.

The new system was introduced in 1969 by the issue of a number of instructions. Once under way, it acquired its own momentum as the experience built up by teachers and heads of schools was embodied and co-ordinated in the structures just described. At the outset

sanction was given for a number of minor changes, but at the start of the school year 1971-72 the whole system was challenged because the teachers engaged in the task of renewal felt that it was not proceeding sufficiently fast. A committee consisting of heads of schools and advisers from the psycho-medical-social centres then studied the problem in the light of the work done by the teacher groups and in close consultation with the administrative authorities and the inspectorate. As a result, it proposed an entirely new system which was to be put into effect in September 1972.

Links with educational research

11. The aim of the new policy is to induce teachers to participate actively in the development of the reform, to enlist their aid in formulating options and making the subsequent decisions and to give them wide responsibilities in putting the proposed solutions into effect. The result of this has been to arouse needs for information, training and solid scientific groundwork in education, psychology and sociology. Accordingly, personal contact between teachers and the universities has been promoted:

a) by organising activities in university research centres (at the request of the educational authorities) designed to offer an initiation into certain techniques (programmed teaching, language teaching laboratories, etc.). This initiation paves the way for practical operations by teams of volunteers who meet at their own convenience and remain in contact with the research centre;

b) by starting a series of research projects on and after January 1971 involving either developmental research (development of standardized tests) or operational research (evaluation) with the active participation of a large number of teachers who are thus able to acquire a scientific approach to pedagogical problems.

Operational research - where this involves the active co-operation of a large number of teachers - has emerged as one of the most effective ways of stimulating innovation because it encourages teachers to think about their profession, make a more rational and even scientific approach to their problems, and be prepared to challenge their own methods.

The demand for such contact has become so great that it will be necessary to consider setting up a kind of "consultation bureau" at university institutes engaged in educational research where teachers will be able to bring their problems and receive scientific assistance in solving them.

Professional training

12. The scope of professional training schemes has expanded from year to year and now takes forms that increasingly require co-operation and personal initiative from teachers. There are several such schemes which differ according to the aims involved:

a) fundamental retraining courses (modern mathematics, linguistics, data processing, courses for administrators) are organised over a very long period with the help of correspondence courses and regional meetings at which teachers can discuss their problems. Television is also used in some of these courses;

b) the teacher conferences hitherto run by inspectors now tend to be replaced by working groups at national or regional level which meet at their own convenience as part of a research programme drawn up after various needs have been discussed. This change began during the school year 1971-1972 and is likely to gather momentum. The idea is to use the problems with which teachers are confronted in their everyday work as a basis for the training courses;

c) in this connection we may recall the training courses in certain techniques organised at university research centres mentioned in paragraph 11(a);

d) a systematic initiation into educational technology is provided by the "cinema and other audio-visual media" service and by seven regional audio-visual centres.

In conclusion, attention must be drawn to two research projects undertaken by a university centre with a view to adjusting retraining schemes. The first began in 1971 and provided certain results which have already been put into effect. It dealt with ways and means of adapting the attitude of teachers more effectively to the objectives of the reformed secondary school system. The second scheme, which began in 1972, is designed to study the most efficient ways of organising retraining.

13. Seminars to promote sensitivity to inter-personal situations and approaches to the solution of group problems and team work

a) A number of seminars in group dynamics have been regularly held since 1967 under a scheme which now seems to be working smoothly. The intention here is to encourage the personal awareness which is essential in dealing with other people. As far as the attitude of teachers to pupils and to their own colleagues is concerned, the results have been very satisfactory. This programme of activity is developing on systematic lines - for example, nine seminars are planned for the school year 1972-1973.

b) At the same time teachers from the State educational system are attending residential contact seminars organised by the Office Belge de la Productivité under the title of "Economie-Enseignement" (the Economy and the Educational System).

c) With effect from September 1972 the sensitivity schemes will be extended and school heads and teaching staff from a certain number of schools will be assisted by specialists to apply institutional methods of analysis in order to acquire a greater insight into their real relationships in the system in which their school operates.

Institutional reforms

14. Any scheme to make teaching establishments more creative must include institutional reforms. In this context an experiment to establish joint management (gestion associative), a scheme to associate the head of the school, the staff, pupils and parents in the management of the school, has been under way for the last three years in about thirty secondary establishments. This number is now increasing.

In the sector of non-university higher education a system of participation has been worked out and came under test in September 1972. The joint management system will obviously call for large-scale administrative changes - particularly the transfer of certain powers to the schools. It will also require the establishment of new structures; not only management committees but also a number of services that will enable the various groups concerned to organise themselves, examine problems jointly, nominate delegates and provide and receive information.

Concluding points

15. All these schemes rely on a voluntary system. Not only is it less expensive but it is more effective, for volunteers are more likely to be motivated to profit from the various activities than people forcibly enrolled.

The greatest difficulty is to resist the temptation to fall back on previous schemes and to arrange for everybody to have an identical training based on special plans to provide an exact number of hours and days of retraining per year. After some ten years' experience

it would seem that the main task of re-training is to open up possibilities for the future, to encourage personal initiative by teamwork and to foster discussion and exchanges. There is no doubt that danger lies in hard-and-fast regulations, red tape and stereotyped conceptions in which the number of reports circulated for the number of days spent on official visits becomes the yardstick of efficiency.

16. Nevertheless, the system just outlined is not without its deficiencies. The scheme to establish a kind of constant dialogue between all the participants in the reform (teachers, heads of schools, inspectors, administrators and the Minister) is purely empirical, as stated at the outset, and it is certainly not yet operating smoothly.(1) For this, it will have to be given a more effective structure and, above all, everybody will have to learn to pull his weight. Arbitrary attitudes, a tendency to take short cuts or seek cover behind official instructions sometimes reassert themselves. But, on the whole, the experiment is undoubtedly positive.

However, teaching establishments must be given structures that will make them into communities capable of clarifying their problems and finding solutions for them. They must be able to exercise wider powers effectively, present their views cogently to the authorities and play a purposeful part in the life of their region. In my view such a development is imminent.

The administrative authorities must also adapt to this new type of management in their procedures and modes of action. It need hardly be said that this will not be the easiest part of the operation.

1) For example, the Central Reform Commission referred to above did not meet during the school year 1971-1972.

II. FINANCIAL INSTRUMENTS AND THE DECENTRALISATION OF DECISION-MAKING

by

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INTRODUCTION: EQUALITY AND FREEDOM

1. The purpose of this paper is to give a brief analysis of the relationship between the use of financial instruments and the attainment of the major objectives of educational policy. The case chosen for analysis is the system of central government subsidies to local authorities, as this system is operated in Norway at present. Reference will also be made to an alternative system which is being worked out in the Department of Research and Planning. The objectives under consideration are, on the one hand, "equality of educational opportunities" and, on the other, "more local freedom in decision-making". In a sense this is the school variant of the "equality versus freedom" question.

2. Education serves many goals. Some may conflict, others may be in harmony. In recent years there has been an increasing emphasis upon the innovative capacity of the educational system. The main argument here has been that educational institutions must be able to deal with rapidly changing environments. The terms often used in this debate are "school-self-government", "self-changing schools", "creativity in school" or, as formulated in the CERI project, the capacity of the school to deal with innovation, i.e. to accept, adapt, generate or reject new practices. It is often argued that there is a relationship between decentralisation of decision-making power and the innovative capacity of the institutions, that "self-change" is dependent on "self-government".

This postulate must in my opinion be qualified. Decentralisation concerns the distribution of decision-making power between levels. In the Norwegian primary school system we may distinguish four levels; the school level, the local community level, the regional level, and the governmental level. The big question is what decisions should be taken at which level. Or more narrowly: In what matters should the school have self-government? In my opinion self-government for the schools must mean decentralisation of decision-making power to the school level in learning matters: what subjects to teach, in what ways, timetable, materials and suchlike.

Self-government (and therefore decentralisation) may be regarded as a <u>necessary</u> condition for increasing the innovative capacity of <u>the school</u>. It does not automatically lead to innovative behaviour. It may, for example, concentrate power in the hands of groups that are not innovative. Or innovations may be planned and implemented in an authoritarian way. The question of internal democratisation is therefore a critical one. Democratisation concerns the participation in and the degree of influence on learning matters of the individuals within the school. In my opinion the "ideal" constellation would be decentralisation from above combined with democratisation from below.

3. Policy instruments are used to achieve goals. Instruments may originate inside or outside the system in question. They may be grouped under the headings: legal, financial, informative. In our analysis here it may be fruitful to classify the instruments according to a centralisation-decentralisation dimension, and an equality-inequality dimension (and also one which might be called a democratic-authoritarian dimension). Important here will be how the instruments regulate the distribution of decision-making power, authority, initiative, information, money, how flexible they are, how monopolistic they are, and so on. If we choose self-governed, self-developing schools as a main objective in our educational policy, we have to use instruments that place decision-making, authority, initiatives and information activities at the school level. It must be an integrated part of the educational process. One question is how this decentralisation might come about in the Norwegian system. Another important question is whether it conflicts with equality objectives.

4. The decentralisation question is a very wide one. Here I will concentrate on that small part of it to which reference has already been made, namely, central government subsidy of local governments' expenditures on primary schools. In the context of the present discussion this is of importance in two ways. First, the subsidy is connected with one of the most central aims of the Norwegian educational policy which is supply of the same quality of education to all parts of the country. The system is "high" on equality. But on the other hand the subsidy is combined with a fairly strict legal regulation of input factors. The structure of the system allows little scope for school self-government; hence the system is "low" on self-government.

Thus we have a subsidy system which is "high" on equality (but perhaps not "high" enough) and "low" on freedom, as here defined. This system could be changed in many directions, but one is of particular interest here: the possibility of attaining more local freedom without affecting the degree of equality already reached (or the possibility of even greater equalisation). This is the basic intention underlying the alternative system which is currently under discussion. To make this more clear, I will first explain the present system and then the main features of the alternative which is being considered.

The present system of subsidies to local authorities

5. Under the present system subsidies are given to local authorities according to their actual expenditures on teacher salaries and to their fiscal capacity, the proportion of teacher salaries covered by subsidies varying from 25 to 85 per cent. It can thus be seen that the subsidy is tied to the input of teacher resources. Limitations on the use of these resources are necessary. In this respect legal instruments play an important role. They regulate the number of hours taught in full class, extra hours taught, class size, teaching obligations, teacher qualifications, teacher salaries, and a lot of other things. Minimum limits are usually stated in strict legal terms, while maximum limits are set in terms of quotas for subsidy.

Within the limits set by the state, there exists some local freedom. The number of hours taught weekly for all grades may vary between 129-147. The number of extra hours taught (e.g. in divided classes or remedial programmes) may also vary. The tendency is towards expanding the range of freedom. But under the present system, it is very difficult to escape the need for some limits on the use of teacher resources.

The use of legal instruments has some important consequences in addition to their (expected) influence on behaviour. They tend to centralise the decision-making power, create an official hierarchy of authority, and often bureaucratise procedures. They are usually less flexible than other strategies and there is currently a trend towards using other approaches such as a greater reliance on the dissemination of information.

6. The main weaknesses of the system may thus be summed up as follows:

a) The system favours the use of teacher resources. Other running costs may be paid by the local authorities themselves. This bends the demand of local authorities towards this particular kind of educational input. Thus the local freedom of choice is financially influenced.

b) Teacher resources are in some cases so strongly subsidised that local authorities bear no real responsibility for these expenses.

c) As mentioned above an extensive use of legal instruments is necessary to limit the input of teacher resources.

d) The basis chosen for subsidy, namely teacher salaries, limits the possible scope of differentiation according to fiscal capacity. Differences in fiscal capacity are not evened out. The equality-effect is great, but not great enough.

The alternative system of standard costs per pupil

7. In the alternative system, standard costs per pupil are introduced as a basis for subsidy. A rather thorough investigation of the cost structure of the primary schools has been made. All running costs are included, and their variance with important factors, such as school size, number of pupils, transport of pupils, number of teaching hours and so on, have been analysed.

As noted above, the main potential benefit of this approach is that it combines equality with freedom. Its advantages may be summed up as follows:

a) Standard costs are calculated on the basis of chosen standard inputs of all major cost factors. Thus one avoids distorting demand at the local level.

b) Expansion of the subsidy base to 100 per cent of the running costs gives opportunity to compensate more than before for differences in financial capacity.

c) Standard costs per pupil will make it possible to remove regulations of teacher input. They may, however, be regarded as necessary for other reasons.

This system must be differentiated according to two factors. First, the standard cost per pupil has to vary. Cost per pupil in the smallest schools is more than twice as high as in the largest. Small schools usually have small classes, a low teacher-pupil ratio, and need relatively more teaching hours per pupil. We have to use one cost standard for one-graded schools, one for two-graded, and so on up to six-graded schools.

As in the present system, we have to differentiate according to fiscal capacity.

When all these values are given, it is very simple to calculate the subsidy to each local community. And the values may easily be changed, according to cost development, to change the equality-effort or to raise the standard. The cost development may be investigated at certain intervals, e.g. every third year. The subsidy must also be regulated yearly in accordance with the wage and price-development, as is now the case.

CONCLUSION

8. A subsidy system based on standard costs per pupil, as described in this paper, gives possibilities for decentralisation of decision-making power. At the same time differences in financial capacity can be evened out if necessary. But although the system provides such possibilities, quite another problem is how these possibilities are to be fulfilled. To a certain extent this will depend on the assumed degree of coherence between local and central aims in educational policy.

The decentralisation of decision-making power by removal of central regulation of input factors may come about gradually. One solution could be that the state requires local authorities to use a certain amount of money for educational policies, without any other

regulations. This is not a very probable solution. More probable is it that some sort of minimum rules for educational inputs will be used. The main points are that certain guarantees must be built into the system, and that adoption to "new" policies is always time-consuming. In this paper policy objectives are taken as "given". A real discussion of the decentralisation question must treat goals as variables.

III. THE FACTORS (POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE) IN EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION AT SECONDARY LEVEL IN THE FRENCH SYSTEM

by

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1. Briefly, the French education system(1) may be said to be characterised in an apparently contradictory fashion by:

- a highly centralised organisation whose various components form a finely graded structure;
- a liberal concept based on long tradition which allows these "components" (administrators, inspectors or teachers) appreciable latitude in their respective spheres of activity and responsibility for the conception and accomplishment of their tasks.

2. Centralisation is to be found in nearly all fields. Whether for the distribution and use of budgetary funds, changes in the school map, staff administration, definition of the various courses provided for pupils and the end-of-course examinations, drawing up curricula and timetables and teaching directives, it is the Ministry of Education which takes all the decisions and is responsible for the great quantity of regulations involved in their execution.

And even though an effort towards decentralisation has been made in recent times, it is by delegation from the Minister that the Rectors - who are his direct representatives at Académie level(2) - take their respective decisions, especially when these are of an administrative nature, in the context of the regulations established at Ministerial level. And it is the Minister's responsibility to settle any cases of dispute.

3. Nonetheless, both as regards administration and teaching, the various parties involved have a certain margin of interpretation within which they may exercise discretion:

- As regards administration, the Rectors, Regional Inspectors of Schools (Inspecteurs d'Académie) and Headmasters each have the possibility at their respective levels of adapting the regulations they are required to apply to regional or local conditions. The geographical situation, economic context, human problems, the necessary dialogue (not always exempt from conflictual elements) with the local authorities, teachers' unions or parent-teacher associations, as well as the personality of the official concerned, all contribute towards an effective variety from one Académie to another, one Département to another and one school to another,

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1) We are concerned here only with public education. Private education (which accounts at secondary level for some 20 per cent of school enrolments) lends itself less easily to the investigation involved in the present study because of the lack of official information.

2) France consists of 25 Académies which are territorial divisions placed under the authority of a Rector. According to population density, each Académie includes between two and seven of the 90 Départements, educational administration in each département coming under the authority of an Inspecteur d'Académie.

in the framework of a single set of centralised regulations and a uniform organisational setup. The recent reform of the School Boards to give them greater administrative autonomy only helps to confirm this state of affairs.

- As regards teaching, every teacher enjoys freedom in his classroom which, though not complete, is nonetheless considerable. According to the timetable and daily routine he is given, the curricula and official directives form a framework which is only relatively binding and in which he is free to organise his teaching and stages of progress and to choose his methods as well as the nature and pace of his pupils' activities.

4. On the other hand, the teacher has to cope with a number of constraints of various kinds. Some are material and administrative: usually it is more a case of his adjusting himself to conditions in the premises in which he works (number, size, availability and layout), to the equipment (furniture, teaching material, documentary resources, etc.) provided by the school and to its timetables and internal regulations (especially as regards general discipline) rather than of his adjusting these factors to his own desires.

5. Other constraints are connected with his idea of the possible repercussions on his career of the assessments his superiors (Headmaster and Inspector) will make on him - as the regulations require. He may, in fact, be afraid that any conflict (whether concealed or open) with his Headmaster, or disapproval of his teaching methods by an Inspector, may cause them to reduce his professional rating, which is used for the purposes of promotion and transfer. This dread may then induce him to qualify or amend his teaching (conception and practice) in the light of the views or even demands which he - rightly or wrongly - assumes are those of his "assessors", although this may be more or less in contradiction with his own personal choice in the matter.

Yet other constraints are connected with the feeling he has of being judged, not only by his superiors, but also by his colleagues (especially those who take over his pupils from him) and by parents through certain of his teaching habits and the results his pupils obtain. According to the importance he attaches for various reasons to such judgments, he will be more or less inclined to align his attitude and his aims with the criteria to which these judgments refer and thus subject himself to a form of social constraint that restricts his free choice.

6. Nevertheless, although these constraints are not negligible, they are - apart from exceptional cases - far from being decisive. Personal initiative and patient persuasive action can help to reduce some of the material or administrative obstacles, while force of personality and strength of conviction can modify the importance attached to the assessments of superiors and the judgments of his peers or of parents. There are many examples in support of this.

7. It should be added, moreover, that the official bodies do not usually oppose such initiative, and even encourage it - at least within certain limits - although it is true that they do not always provide the means.

Similarly, although some superiors are disinclined to encourage it, there are others who accept it in a certain spirit of liberalism, follow its progress with sympathy and interest and even encourage or sponsor it - a sign of the margin of initiative allowed to the various components at this grade in the machine.

CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE PRESENT SYSTEM LENDS ITSELF TO EDUCATIONAL INNOVATION

8. Investigations of these conditions leads to:

i) the consideration that innovation may be due:

a) either to the initiative of teachers or administrators in making more or less extensive use of the margin of interpretation they are allowed by the official directives;

b) or to a central decision, with the whole apparatus of official directives and regulations which endeavour to promote its application through all the different levels.

ii) investigation of the channels and different factors responsible for:

a) decentralised initiative receiving a more or less favourable response which, according to the case, enables it to flourish or, on the contrary, dooms it to failure;

b) the central decision more or less effectively reaching the levels where it is to be applied;

c) the central decision and decentralised initiative converging (whether the former obtains a response from the latter or the latter fits in with the former) and, according to the case, being successful or relatively unsuccessful.

9. In the light of these observations we shall now analyse the following examples of some of the innovatory ventures that have been more or less successful in France in the recent past.

Example 1:

The "New Classes" (Classes Nouvelles) Experiment in Pilot Lycees

10. This example, which is of type (ii)(a) in paragraph 8, relates to the problem of teaching methods. In the pilot schools, numbering about ten throughout France, teams of teachers have endeavoured to introduce resolutely active teaching methods into their classrooms ever since the end of the Second World War, being inspired by the wave of what was termed "new education". These methods include using centres of interest in connection with an exploration of the environment, calling on the pupils' initiative for visits or surveys outside the classroom, finding documents, observation and experimental activities and using various methods of expression, teamwork and so on.

The central authority accepted and, to a certain extent, has protected and encouraged this venture. Flexible adaptation of certain regulations was sanctioned, especially as regards daily routine; special care was taken in the choice of staff, particularly of Headmasters in the event of their transfer; courses were organised for the teachers involved in the experiment, and special effort was made in the field of investment and financial support to encourage teachers to exchange information through publications of their own. Several official directives have even been based on certain aspects of these experiments and have prescribed their general adoption, for example, institutionalisation of the small-group method for supervised work and the introduction of "experimental scientific work".

11. Nonetheless, after nearly a quarter of a century, the flow of innovation introduced by this experiment is still confined in the main to a small minority of teachers and schools, even though their value is not generally disputed. The essential reason for this

state of affairs is a certain line of thinking that is more or less openly distrustful of innovation in general and whose effects, though differently expressed from one body to another, converge finally to create an atmosphere, if not of deliberate refusal, at least of relative impermeability.

12. At the level of the central administration and of its direct representatives (general inspectors), it is not unanimously felt that the methods tried - even though it is agreed that they were successful in the experimental context - should be generally adopted, in view of the existing institutional structure and staff. Although the regulations have been modified in favour of experimental schools their general application is viewed with caution, since it is in fact difficult to set the limits and to measure in advance all the repercussions in various fields, especially the budgetary one. While the quality of the work done and the results obtained by the teachers are recognised, it should be noted that the teachers involved in the experiment believe in it and are stimulated by the situation. It must be asked whether the staff as a whole could successfully adapt to the new teaching situation or whether, while the experiments of the innovators are followed with interest, others may continue the practices consecrated by tradition, especially as some ill-considered experiments in innovation have here and there produced disappointing if not unfortunate results.

13. The local administration (Regional Inspectors of Schools and Headmasters) is aware of the apparent - and frequently real - disparity between the existing system (institutions and operating conditions, staff and style of work, sociological context and concepts accepted by public opinion) and the changes that are necessarily attendant on the new methods. In view of the obstacles and difficulties this disparity cannot fail to engender, the tendency is to adopt a wait-and-see attitude towards these methods, even if some say that they are convinced of their interest - which is not always the case. Before launching into innovation therefore, a good number of those concerned consider it more prudent to await some change (through official regulations) in institutional factors and a more definite consensus of opinion as to the pedagogical superiority of the new system.

14. Opinions among teachers are divided according to situation, experience and temperament. Some say that they are convinced of the advisability of innovation and are tempted to go in for it, but then they hesitate - and a good many finally draw back - because of the obstacles they foresee or which they have actually encountered in their first ventures. These may include material conditions, institutional factors, reaction (whether imagined or real) of more or less veiled disapproval or even opposition by superiors, colleagues, parents or public opinion.

For others, these extrinsic difficulties are joined by those relating to the actual implementation of the new methods, for which they feel at least a certain reserve. They consider that the achievements of a few "pioneers" are not within their reach or - rightly or wrongly - they doubt their ability to meet new demands. They may also be fearful - sometimes for very plausible personal reasons - of the considerable increase in responsibility (jobs to be done, time to be given up) they see falling on their colleagues already engaged in innovation.

15. Lastly, others - perhaps motivated more or less unconsciously by the above considerations - are opposed in varying degrees to the actual methods employed. They generally base their attitude either on reasons of principle (challenging the aims or psycho-pedagogical data used by the promoters of innovation to justify themselves) or on observations of an experimental nature. They contrast, for example, results obtained by the methods with which they themselves are satisfied with the uncertainty (or even the inadequacy) of those

proposed by the new methods - at least in certain fields regarded as fundamental by these opponents and as less important by those who innovate.

16. Public opinion - particularly the opinion of parents - is on the whole poorly informed as to the intentions and functioning of these innovations, especially as they only affect a few schools. Some parents say they are convinced that innovation is justified and even deplore its slow general adoption; others, on the contrary, react with quiet apprehension or the most vociferous disapproval against the unusual nature (as they see it) of a particular practice being used in the school attended by their own child. It is not rare to meet both of these apparently contradictory attitudes in the same person.

17. In short, apart from a few particular cases of opposition, this "new class" (classe nouvelle) experiment is rather favourably viewed, and the majority - at different levels of responsibility as regards its extension - say that they are prepared to contribute. But what tends to happen is that everyone then complains about the unfavourable conditions and the difficulties beyond his control that impede any possible initiative on his part. So his contribution must wait upon the initiative he expects others to take, to reduce, if not eliminate, the obstacles that stand in his way.

Example 2:

Reorganisation of the First Cycle of Secondary Education

18. This example is illustrative of type (ii)(b) in paragraph 8 and relates to a problem of institutional structure. In pursuit of the extension of compulsory schooling to the age of 16, decided upon in 1959, the Ministry of Education has put a remarkable effort into the design, organisation and building of a new type of school, the Collège d'Enseignement Secondaire (CES) for pupils between 11/12 and 15/16 years of age.

The objective was to create single establishments that would provide replacements for the educational courses hitherto offered to children between 11 and 16 in separate schools, all with different ideas, structures, purposes, teaching methods, staff categories and clientèle, and all relatively impermeable when it came to an exchange of views.

The single establishment has two advantages. In the first place it removes the early commitment as to the child's future, which hitherto has been almost irremediably linked with the type of school where he began this second stage of his education - either for geographical reasons or because of his social origins. The new scheme creates the possibility of reorientation and facilitates blending both of pupils and of teaching staffs.

In the second place, the single establishment nonetheless prevents excessive uniformity that takes no account of the inevitable differences of level and ability - and consequently the optimum conditions of educational output and future career opportunities - offered by such a gathering together of children of the same age. It does this by providing different "streams", between which there are in principle "bridges", but which are entrusted to different staffs using teaching methods suitable for the following categories of pupils:

- stream I: children who show a certain aptitude for handling abstract ideas and are in principle destined for a long education;
- stream II: children rather less inclined towards theory, and destined in principle for a short education or turning fairly soon towards vocational training;
- stream III: the so-called "transitional" and "practical terminal" (terminales pratiques) classes. These are for children who, by the end of their elementary schooling, have not mastered what is required of them and for whom therefore, catch-up or additional teaching is necessary - either to re-instate them in a

normal cycle of study or to prepare them to adapt as well as possible to the demands of the working life for which most of them are destined as soon as their compulsory schooling ends.

"Special teaching sections" have been created in these same schools to enable semi-mentally deficient children to be educated, the teaching methods being adjusted to their particular condition.

19. Many regulations, administrative and pedagogic, govern the duties, organisation and operation of these schools, as well as their legal and financial status and that of their staff. A considerable building and investment effort has been made and is continuing. Nevertheless, although a substantial network of schools has thereby been established, one is obliged to observe that, even after ten years, by no means all of the innovation latent in the new system has been realised - and this in spite of the frequent amendments that have been made in the regulations to adjust it better to the basic intentions and to practical circumstances.

As already observed, each CES is attended by pupils who were formally at one of three levels/places of education. More specifically these are:

- the "classes de fin d'études primaires" (the last year of primary school) leading except in a few rare cases, to working life either directly at the age of 14 or after a course at a vocational training establishment. These classes were held in the elementary schools and taught by masters holding no more than elementary qualifications;
- the "lower secondary schools" (collèges d'enseignement général), mostly annexed to a primary school. The classes here were given by teachers with relatively specialised additional training (acquired on courses or through their own experience) and led for most pupils to supervisory-grade jobs. A minority went on to the second cycle of study;
- the first cycles in the "lycées" (high schools) where, under the supervision of secondary school teachers, the pupils began classical or modern studies which, in principle, were to continue in the same school until the end of the second secondary cycle. For a fair number this would lead to higher education after passing the baccalauréat.

20. These pupils are now allocated by a procedure common to all the CES to one of three streams, the criterion being their results and educational level after elementary school - not any longer the dictates of geographical or socio-economic exigency. A system of "class councils" and "guidance councils", which encourages collaboration and even exchange between the teachers, has the task of facilitating the transfer of pupils from one stream to another during their schooling if their results make such a step advisable. In practice, however, transfers from one stream to another are relatively rare and are usually upwards from stream I to stream II or from stream II to stream III rather than in the opposite direction. In the latter case, they seem automatically to be regarded by pupils, families and teachers too as a "downgrading" (even as a punishment for bad marks) rather than an attempt to find the best way of adapting the style of teaching to the child's abilities.

A further point is that the material pooling of teaching equipment and installations (physical training, manual work, documentary resources, audio-visual aids, in particular) provides the possibility for more substantial grants and should permit their broader and more pertinent use. There have indeed been some fortunate ventures and achievements in this direction; but on the whole the possibility has been only very partially exploited so far as teaching is concerned.

21. The reasons for the present state of affairs lie in the clumsiness and inflexibility of the institutional structure and, as a response to this, a stodginess of mind on the part of some of the implementers.

The CES could not, of course, be designed and set up all at once in a single operation; it needed progressive stages and successive adjustments to perfect the formula. In a centralised system such a process involves the optimum exploitation of a two-way flow of information: directives sent down through the échelons for action in the schools revealing - side by side with cases of satisfactory implementation - situations where the directives are at least partly unsuited to reality or where defective interpretation calls for them to be rewritten.

But these information circuits are routed through several staging-points at each of which distortions may be introduced. These interfere both with the correct execution of directives and requests for their re-wording from the schools. In fact, these successive amendments, which aim at better adaptation to local circumstances, tend to disconcert the staff responsible for carrying them out, as well as public opinion. They also run the risk of seeming inconsistent.

Further contributing to the risk of the directives or their local interpretations proving irrelevant is the complexity of the situation in which they are being applied. Clearly, the introduction of the CES project had to be by stages; but for operational and budgetary reasons this had to be managed so as to absorb certain on-going changes in the system it was replacing. Here one has particularly in mind: the progressive termination of the last year of compulsory studies (classes de fin d'études) with its attendant problems of re-employment of staff and the provision of school buses for pupils who had to attend a school in another district; and gradual transformation of the CEG into CES coupled with the progressive autonomisation of the first-cycle classes in the lycées. Both of these imply changes in teaching structure, staff allocation and status.

22. These various institutional factors are unfavourable enough to the efficient introduction of the innovation; but in the event they have been joined by obstacles that stem from the teachers' mental outlook. The fact that the CES contains staff who formerly worked in different schools (the contrary could hardly have been possible) and who now, apart from a few, teach in the different "streams", has led to the view that here is a transposition of the old system to a new material framework rather than the establishment of a completely new system.

A good many of those concerned (families, teachers, administrators) are naturally inclined to carry forward into the new system habits of thought inherited from the old. Former views tend to prevail - often implicitly and contrary to overt statements - and these minimise the benefit that might be obtained from the new arrangement, especially with regard to the reorientation of pupils. This clearly explains much of the misinterpretation of the official directives as well as the relative impermeability of the boundaries that still exist between the different streams.

These difficulties are well illustrated by what happened with the transition classes and practical terminal classes in stream III (classes de transition et classes terminales pratiques). Their introduction was accompanied by teaching directives that were generally admitted to be fully to the point, but it immediately raised a staff problem because they were put in the hands of teachers who hitherto had charge of the finals classes, and this implied that there should be a considerable change in teaching habits. Applications for admission to these classes were further discouraged by a convergence of views from teachers (who regarded them as difficult, "waste disposal areas" for potential failures) and from parents who considered them dead-end classes, entry to which would represent a down-

grading of their children. What made matters worse was that the new training facilities came into being too slowly and most of the stream III classes had to be entrusted either to inexperienced and lukewarm teachers or to others insufficiently trained to implement the directives effectively. The consequence of all this has been frequently deplorable situations and teaching results that have strengthened the existing prejudice and led to reports of failure. Against this must be set the few remarkable successes due to particularly competent teachers that show that such prejudice was not necessarily justified.

23. From another angle, the order of importance established between the three streams can of course be justified by reference to the professional status offered by their respective outlets, while the strong correlation between the educational levels of pupils in these streams and the socio-economic levels of their families is a matter of common sociological knowledge. This does not vitiate the aim of the CES to reduce such inequality, but the present imperfection of achieving it gives some encouragement to those who denounce the new system as a political machination to preserve a certain style of social segregation.

In this connection experiments now under way in a few of the CES under the supervision of Louis Legrand, Director of Research at the "Institut National de Recherche et de Documentation Pédagogiques", show that a different type of organisation based on more flexible distribution between "level groups" with "differentiated teaching" is tending to prove more effective. Nevertheless there is a danger - and there are already some significant signs in this direction - that the considerable innovation attendant on this new arrangement will, mutatis mutandis, come up against the same obstacles as already encountered by the "new classes" in the lycées (see paragraphs 11-18).

24. Another factor unfavourable to the immediate success of the CES innovation, in which institutional structure and mental outlook are relevant, is perpetuation of difference in status between teachers. The various categories of staff (primary school teachers, lower secondary school teachers, high school teachers holding diplomas or the "agrégation") working in any one CES retain their former status with the consequence of considerable difference as regards salaries, working hours and also - according to the perceptions of each group - position in a sort of established order of professional "dignity". This state of affairs does not help very much towards the spirit of collaboration that should exist between all categories of staff.

Nevertheless, the possibility of standardising status comes up against negative attitudes - and even deliberate opposition - on the part of both the central administration and a good many of the staff unions concerned, largely it would seem because of the mutual suspicion during negotiation. The administration suspects the unions of taking advantage of a new situation to obtain corporate benefits (salaries, working hours) regarded as excessive and likely to stimulate claims from other categories; the unions suspect the administration of taking advantage of this same new situation to challenge corporate benefits previously acquired.

In short, although the introduction of the CES is a striking innovation and a definite improvement on the situation hitherto, and although the hope is far from being ruled out of forthcoming developments and adjustments to consolidate this improvement, it must nonetheless be observed that factors of resistance to change due both to situations and to outlooks are jeopardising (or at least greatly delaying) the complete success of the venture.

Example 3:

Modern Language Teaching Using Audio-Visual Methods

25. This example is taken from category (ii)(c) in paragraph 8 and relates to problems of modern language teaching. In this field audio-visual techniques have been advocated by a

few specialists for some years now and they have been the subject of sporadic experimentation by small groups of "pioneers" here and there. For a long time they were eyed with suspicion by the majority of teachers, but now they are officially recommended and being investigated still further by research and supported by a substantial investment effort. Progress is nevertheless slow and there are still difficulties of many kinds, material and pedagogical.

On the material side, the progress of this innovation is obviously subject in the first instance to installation of the necessary technical equipment. Such installation, whether it concerns the premises to be provided and/or adapted, the fittings to be made or the maintenance planned, devends mainly on the budgetary effort the authorities intend to make and therefore to a certain extent on the interest with which such a venture is regarded. The opinion of potential users - principally teachers - is in this respect at least predominant if not decisive, either directly or by its effect on a particular sector of public opinion.

The difficulties initially encountered - a number of which persist in various places - appear to be specifically linked with the reserve (and even opposition) of the staffs concerned. They either made no demands or showed little conviction in persuading the authorities responsible for decision and finance during their budgetary deliberations.

26. This resistance on the part of teachers can be explained by the convergence of three sets of circumstances. In the first place, there is a widely shared distrust of the intrusion of technology into teaching, whatever field is affected. This can be traced to the teachers' uneasiness with instruments whose handling gives rise to complications and loss of time for the uninitiated, and whose use obliges them in any event to change some of their methods. It can be traced, too, to a feeling (more or less confused or more or less acute according to the person) that they are dealing with an embarrassing competitor for the pupils' trust, for the teacher's share of initiative or, in the extreme, for the usefulness and even the atmosphere and personal nature of the teaching relationship. These misgivings are certainly not groundless, but experience has shown that they should not really worry anyone who has sufficiently mastered the technological and teaching aspects.

The second point is that a well-established university tradition tends to give priority in any field (and this includes foreign languages) to cultural enrichment and intellectual development. For this reason it favours teaching based on analysis and thought rather than a more immediate practice based on successive empirical adjustments. This is a concept that is quite widely recommended by official directives, and its adherents might well be suspicious of methods designed for accelerated teaching for practical ends that make considerable provision for the accumulation of automatic verbal responses. As they see it, such methods take up more space and time than can be justified for an objective of secondary importance.

Lastly, quite apart from mastery of the specifically technological aspects and their implementation, the use of such methods involves seriously rethinking the aims and concepts of teaching, psychological and linguistic foundations, and the methods and processes employed. In short, it demands an effort of adaptation and professional renewal which a good many teachers are all the more reluctant to make as they are secretly unconvinced of the superiority of the practices recommended.

27. However, these prejudices seem to be gradually disappearing and appreciable progress has been made with the installation and use of equipment. Any slowness still observed is now mainly due to material and, more especially, budgetary difficulties.

What exactly has stimulated the acceptance of this innovation is difficult to discern. Perhaps the following are important factors, but one cannot be precise about the relative weights of their influence:

- technological improvements in audio-visual equipment, adjusting it more finely to teaching requirements and making it easier to handle and more reliable to use;
- the development of such methods outside the school for learning purposes in general and especially for modern languages;
- increased inter-school exchanges at international level, tending to arouse greater interest right from the start in the efficient practice of a foreign language;
- advances in teaching as a result of research by various teams of "pioneers" employing the latest data and the results of fundamental research in psychology and linguistics that have already proved most useful.

An important factor in the development of this programme has been the formation of a large "teachers' guidance" network. This was undertaken with the active encouragement of the inspecting authorities (especially the Inspector General) and the "logistic" support (in staff and equipment) of the National Institute for Teaching Research and Documentation, notably through its decentralised organs, the Regional Centres for Teaching Research and Documentation and the Departmental Centres for Teaching Research and Documentation. This network provides for the regular exchange of information, introductory and advanced courses, meetings to compare experience and to prepare or improve teaching techniques. Although it is still far from capable of meeting all legitimate needs (which in any case are constantly growing) a facility such as this is a most valuable spur to the progress of an innovation.

Example 4:

The Introduction of "Modern Mathematics" Teaching

28. This example is also taken from category (ii)(c) as listed in paragraph 8, but it relates to problems of content and didactics.

Revision of the content and methods of mathematics teaching was first recommended by a few teachers who had been experimenting privately with the subject. It was then taken up by several groups who co-ordinated their experiments with the strong support of the dynamic Association of Mathematics Teachers. Subsequently the Ministry authorised a programmed teaching research project and appointed a committee under Professor Lichnerowicz to look after it; and a few years ago reform in mathematics teaching was officially instituted. To give it substance, new curricula and Ministry instructions have been published, and special bodies, the IREM (Instituts de Recherche sur l'Enseignement Mathématique), have been created to assist in implementation.

29. As a result of these measures mathematics teaching is changing very noticeably in the classroom, but this is not without variations in pace and method, some controversy and not a few other difficulties. There are several reasons for this slowness and the other impediments. Some undoubtedly stem from the very principle of the innovation concerned, agreement being far from unanimous among teachers, the inspecting authorities and University staff as to its advisability. Although they all agree that the revision, or at least the adaptation, of mathematics teaching is essential, some dispute what they regard as excessive reference to modern mathematical theories in the directives of those promoting the reform. They consider it premature, or even unnecessary, for the majority of pupils that aspects of fundamental research should be brought into the classroom, and they are worried by the gaps they feel such teaching will leave, particularly as concerns the practical business of learning how to compute. This has led to sharp controversy and even polemics which have found an echo in the newspapers, and thus involve public opinion. All this has caused uneasiness among the majority of teachers, while the less-convinced members of the profession use it as an additional argument for their opposition.

Another difficulty relates specifically to staff. Most of the younger teachers have been trained at university level on the basis of modern theories which they are relatively at ease in handling and adapting to teaching requirements. At the same time they are sharply aware of the non-adaptability of traditional teaching methods and content. The older teachers, on the other hand (except perhaps for those who had continued to follow university work and research), are much less conscious of this non-adaptability, although they look forward with some trepidation to the retraining that is indispensable to the new scheme. Nor do they fully appreciate the underlying rationale, aims and spirit of the reform. Although a number of these teachers have spontaneously made the effort of retraining and revised their teaching methods even before the reform was made official, most have been reluctant, if not hostile. Worried by the extent of the challenge to their knowledge and experience implied by the reform (both as regards their own efforts and the pedagogical uncertainties), their inclination has been to criticise. In this they have been more or less directly encouraged by the "academic" objections already referred to, and one consequence has been a delay in retraining.

30. Before the official launching of the reform a number of convinced teachers, either alone or in teams, modified their teaching methods (albeit experimentally) in preparation for it. Such initiative was generally tolerated by the inspecting authorities and sometimes, though not always, actively encouraged; nevertheless it produced regrettable situations when brought into proximity with classes that kept to the old official texts that were still in force. It was not unusual, for example, for pupils transferring from one school to another for family reasons, or even changing teachers from one year to the next in the same school, to be obliged to go from one type of teaching to another. For some pupils, this occurred several times during their school life. These disparities, added to the criticisms of the concepts, content, methods and extent of the innovation (or the quality of their authors' information), did nothing to facilitate the creation of a climate of approval for the reform. Such a situation has continued to exist, at least in part, even after the appearance of the new official texts, for these alone were not able to change the attitude of all the teachers affected. This was partly due to the form of their original training.

31. In point of fact, although the necessity for a sizeable training (or retraining) effort for teachers already employed was unanimously recognised, and although appropriate measures had been planned, these could not be introduced at the pace required owing to lack of finance and suitably qualified staff. Only a few IREM could be set up each year and even now they do not cover the whole country. Although the organisation of "teachers' guidance" networks (similar to those for modern languages already mentioned) has begun on a fairly broad scale, often with the more or less voluntary help of various categories of teachers or research workers, they have not been able to satisfy the mass demand, any more than the experiments in television teaching for mathematics masters, which in any case have not been wholly effective. An enormous machine is thus being operated comprising different types of unevenly co-ordinated activities, all of which have their shortcomings, both as regards the staff aimed at and, to a less extent, the relevance of the training programme to the basic aims of the innovation.

In the context of this latter point, it should be noted that the promoters of the reform (especially the research teams and the Ministerial Study Committee) generally endeavoured to stress its twofold aspect, namely the reciprocal relationship between content and procedure. But it is far from certain that this twofold preoccupation has been sufficiently safeguarded through the stages of dissemination, especially at teacher level. The teachers concerned - both those taking part in retraining operations and those for

whom they are intended - are mostly mathematics teachers whose initial training was mainly concerned with mathematical knowledge, there being much less emphasis on teaching. They have therefore been inclined, as a whole, to attach more importance to changes of content than to changes in teaching methods, especially as these call for more research, discovery and pupils' creative activity. For many this was a break with the dogmatically didactic practices with which they were familiar and which gave them relative security. On this account a number of difficulties have followed, either in the interpretation of curricula or in their implementation.

POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE FACTORS IN INNOVATION

32. After this analysis of the four case histories it should be possible to draw up a preliminary list of factors that either facilitate or delay educational innovation.

In the present study, by "innovation" we mean any change in one component of the existing educational system (institutional structure, administrative organisation and operation, architecture, content of teaching and curricula, teaching methods and techniques etc.) which is not made simply for the sake of change but with the intention of promoting improvements in the aspect concerned and - having regard to the close interdependence of all such aspects - in the system as a whole. This intention usually stems from realisation of the non-adjustment of the present system to the socio-cultural, technical or economic realities on which its mission and operating conditions are based and which are constantly evolving and often subject to considerable fluctuations. When this lack of adjustment is experienced by teachers it motivates some initiative on their part and gives rise to what is commonly called "spontaneous innovation". Lack of adjustment observed and analysed at central administration level, especially in relation to the adoption of targets and effective means of implementation, results in more or less extensive reforms in official decisions.

It is easier to discuss the negative factors. Those that are favourable will naturally emerge since they actually exist and can be observed, and will appear as measures likely to reduce or eliminate the influence of the negative factors. All these factors, however, whose relative importance and manifestations vary according to the example chosen, can be conveniently considered in the three major situations suggested below, on the understanding that their enumeration should not be regarded as exhaustive and that the situations adopted for convenience should not obscure the extensive mutual influence of all factors, one on another.

I. Factors Operative within the Institutional System

33. (a) Centralisation and bureaucratisation are factors responsible for slow decisions, for wastage and for distortion, both in the processes of "handing down" directives for innovation and "handing up" information on implementation. This state of affairs is, in its turn, either a result of relative misunderstanding at certain decision-making levels, or of misunderstanding and faulty interpretation by the staff whose job it is to put the innovation into effect.

The conditions for introducing the CES (paragraphs 21-25) and to a certain extent the reform of mathematics teaching (especially as regards teacher training - paragraphs 29-32) constitute a relatively significant illustration of such phenomena. In the present state of the institutional system, a possible solution would involve the investigation of means of facilitating the circulation of information between the different levels in its strictly graded structure (paragraph 38).

34. (b) The degree of initiative allowed to staffs can only be effectively widened with some difficulty. In the first place, the great majority of them, either from habit or from concern for their own security, are more sensitive to the weight of administrative supervision than they are to the freedom available to them. In the second place, the institutionally centralised and structured educational system creates real difficulties for the insertion of isolated attempts at innovation. In such a context they stand out like a sore thumb.

Several signs of this state of affairs have been noted in the case histories already analysed. In both the creation of the Classes Nouvelles (paragraphs 11-18) and the reform of mathematics teaching (paragraphs 29-32), many teachers and administrators who were initially interested in such innovations gave up the idea of implementing them or of encouraging their practice because of the absence of official directives. They also feared real or imaginary difficulties of all kinds - obstacles connected with the regulations, possible disapproval by superiors, pedagogical uncertainties, parents' unfavourable reactions and so on. Not the least among these difficulties were those connected with some of the more obvious consequences of change: disorientation of the pupils should they change school or, in quite another direction, risk of an impasse, especially from the financial viewpoint, as a result of "wandering away" from the strict rules of accounts administration.

In order to remove such obstacles, the scope for initiative should be less the result of a sort of tolerance generated by the force of events than of a recognised show of greater confidence in the decentralisation of decision-making. This confidence should be counterbalanced by the obligation for those concerned to take full responsibility for their actions, it being also understood that a consultation procedure should be established to enable the higher authorities to modify, by their advice and supervision, those initiatives whose advisability is questionable. At the same time, a greater appreciation of the possibilities for innovating - both in the eyes of teachers and for public opinion - would remove the aura of strangeness currently surrounding the far too isolated ventures.

35. A positive development in this field is the establishment of experimental schools, or schools responsible for experiments, as support centres for pedagogical innovation. Changes in the regulations have now given official standing to these. Precautions are taken to ensure the capability of staff working on the innovations selected and to check results. There seems no doubt that, through these centres, confrontation and exchange are becoming factors of greater pedagogical security and fertility; but, unless care is taken, there is a risk that the schools may prejudice the general acceptance of the very innovations they are trying to promote. This could happen if they were seen to carry out their trials in conditions more favourable than are found in the normal run of school. To some extent the stagnation of the Classes Nouvelles within the 10 Lycées Pilotes is an example of this risk (see paragraphs 10-18).

II. Factors Relating to Staff

36. (a) As already observed, one consequence of the institutional framework in which they work is that staff (administrators and teachers) are disinclined to take the initiative for innovation.

(b) Another consequence of the system is the defective reception of the decisions of the central administration - the real or apparent incoherence staff detect in them, and the difficulties in implementation to which such lack of understanding may give rise. This creates scepticism as to the advisability of measures recommended and the effectiveness of the proposed means of application. There may even be suspicion - especially corporate or

political - as to the declared intentions themselves. A good many of the reactions of staff to the introduction of the CES (paragraphs 21-25) or to some aspects of the reform of mathematics teaching (paragraphs 29-32) can be attributed to such failure in communication. It can also vitiate attempts at spontaneous innovation, as we have seen in the case of the Classes Nouvelles (paragraphs 11-18).

37. Factors militating against innovation can also be traced to the type of training most teachers have received. This essentially, if not exclusively, has a strongly academic basis which breeds disinclination towards anything new. Thus established teachers will tend to feel that any innovation affecting content challenges the knowledge from which their whole professional activity stems. In reality they are unreceptive to innovations that specifically affect teaching either because they do not understand the reasons behind them or, though they approve this rationale intellectually, because they find it genuinely difficult to overcome the feeling of insecurity engendered by the introduction of change.

It is easy to find many examples of this negative factor. Innovation in the introduction of the Classes Nouvelles was largely a matter of pedagogy and it only affected content by partly disputing its arrangement and order of importance. Nevertheless it was either this teaching aspect or the partial rearrangement of content that lay behind the reservations or opposition of most teachers. Current experiments indicated that the structural reform in the CES programme could be more effective if at the same time some changes were made in the teaching methods. The advisability of such changes had just not occurred to a number of people, while others doubted if they were pertinent. It was the effect on teaching of using audio-visual aids for modern language teaching that touched off the initial opposition of teachers towards this innovation. Lastly, in the case of the reform of mathematics teaching, staffs seem to have been concerned mainly with the problem of content, less attention being paid to the more specifically pedagogical aspects. This may explain some of the difficulties in getting the scheme going.

38. The remedy for this situation calls first for a special effort in the matter of staff training.

Initial training should include epistemology and educational psychology alongside studies in the academic discipline concerned, and be intentionally designed as the first stage in the compulsory programme of continuing training. Thus, it is hoped that teachers would be:

- first, more accustomed to consider content, not only for itself by reference to one academic discipline, but also in the light of its relative significance as a factor in a general education. They should also be sensitive to problems of educational psychology raised by students' access to this content;
- secondly, prepared to regard this initial training as a point of departure leading, in the course of their careers, to additional experience such as further training and - in a constantly changing world - to continual adjustment to reality and therefore capacity for change.

It may even be a further hope, since teachers are well known to shape their teaching on the "model" of their own schooling, that a training thus designed should help to develop a more "open" form of teaching which is itself a positive factor in increasing readiness to fall in with the current of innovation.

39. In such a perspective as this, continuous training takes on a role of considerable importance - indeed its necessity is hardly disputed any longer, although in practice its introduction still raises appreciable budgetary difficulties. The general tendency is to envisage it in the form of courses of length, frequency and conception varying according to circumstances and the specific targets set. The interest shown in such courses is

undeniable, but it is not certain that there will be enough of them to meet the demand. It is now commonplace in adult education that the procedures employed are all the more effective if they are seen and organised in direct relation to the felt needs of those concerned. They should tie up with actual professional activity, and even be carried out in the same premises in such conditions that what is learned can be put to use immediately and on the spot.

From what has been said it will be clear that continuous training courses would derive great benefit from the parallel establishment of "teachers' guidance" systems. We have referred (see paragraphs 25-28) to the considerable positive role being played by such systems for the renewal of modern language teaching. They are excellent vectors for teaching information and the logistic support of institutions, specialised establishments and inspection authorities. Part of their job is to train staff, and it is they that provide occasions for serving teachers to meet each other and compare and pool their experience and ideas. Such teachers' guidance bodies should help to mitigate some of the impediments to innovation already mentioned by explaining intentions and informing teachers in precise terms about impending reforms and by supporting them in their search for appropriate solutions and the personal adjustments they will have to make.

It is to facilitate the introduction and operation of such guidance systems that the National Institute for Pedagogical Research and Documentation of a Pedagogical Information, Guidance and Further Training Service has recently been created. It operates in association with the central administration and the inspection authorities on the one hand and with the teaching research bodies on the other; largely through its decentralised organs the CRDP and the CDDP. Although it is too soon to assess the effectiveness of such a service (it has only been in existence for a few months and its resources are still limited) it will no doubt prove an important favourable factor in the spread of innovation.

III. Factors relating to the Sociological Environment

40. Generally speaking, public opinion of educational reality (whether it concerns aims, organisation, methods of operation, or teaching) is based on a "model" which stems both from individual memories of school and a longstanding tradition. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that public opinion may be disconcerted, or shocked even, by innovations that at first sight appear to mar this idealised (and obsolete) picture of school. The fact is that the public by no means always understand the rationale or significance of such innovations; it therefore worries about the underlying intentions and their immediate or longer-term consequences. Hence, innovation is an easy target for public opposition or controversy which (rightly or wrongly) is not always free from political implications.

Nor is public opinion without a desire to exert its influence, and indeed it does so:

- first on the attitude of the staff of the Ministry of Education, both through a general social constraint and the reactions of parents' associations;
- secondly, on the authorities at the level where decisions of principle are taken and changes made in the forms of implementation (such as at the level of budgetary choice), both through general currents of opinion and socio-economic, corporate or political pressure groups.

Public opinion, therefore, is a factor of considerable importance and it should not be underestimated. We have already seen it operating in the case histories examined above. Usually it is negative (as in the case of the Classes Nouvelles, the introduction of the CES and the reform of mathematics teaching). Only rarely is it positive. This seems to have been the case with the development of audio-visual methods in language teaching, if one may judge from the popularity of these same methods in extra-educational fields.

41. The way of removing obstructions to innovation caused by this factor when it is negative is to keep the public designedly informed at two levels:

- first, locally, at school level, through adequately briefed teachers, administrators and, as far as is possible, parents;
- secondly, at regional and national level, through mass media. Here care must be taken to provide adequate factual briefing for the professional communicators, some of whom tend, if unaided, to sensationalise or go only for the spectacular. The output required is not so much "conditioning" material as "hard" information about changes made or planned and the justification of these in terms of the needs of the coming generation now at school.

We must also recognise that staff directly concerned with educational problems are also a part of public opinion and are probably more affected by educational news and comment in the press and on radio/television than any other sociological group. Possibly they take more notice of the mass media than of their own professional circulars or journals.

CONCLUSION

42. It seems then, that the difficulties usually met in the course of innovation in the educational field, whether they are due to the institutional structure, the reactions of staff or public opinion, could be much reduced by a designed improvement in communication.

A source of educational information, appropriately adapted as regards content and means to its recipients, would be similar to the system that is daily proving its worth in the economic sphere. Its effectiveness, however, depends in the last resort on a policy of continuing professional training for the staffs directly affected by innovation and a more general kind of indoctrination for the public at large.

IV. THE DEMOCRATISATION OF SCHOOLS

by

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1. The subject of school democratisation is a very complex one and has its ramifications all through education. Generally speaking, it aims at enlarging the possibilities for students to develop optimally, both individually and socially. Since in this connection developments within the school cannot be seen apart from social developments, issues of a philosophical and sociological nature play an important part.

The following factors may be distinguished in the process of democratisation:

a) Structural changes in the educational system

The demand for structural changes in the school system is often a response to a situation where the existing system limits the access of some social groups to certain forms of education. Creating equal chances for everyone mostly involves external democratisation and this is a central point of discussion in the Netherlands at the moment, especially in relation to the possible introduction of comprehensive schooling. However, this subject does not fall within the scope of this paper.

b) Change in the role of the teacher

In the Netherlands this subject is discussed in relation to the possibility of proceeding from auditorium teaching to a wider range of didactic activities in which the teaching of small groups and a more individualised education take a central place. Although this subject will be briefly mentioned again it, too, scarcely falls within our direct focus.

c) Changes in the student's position within the school

This refers to the attempt to increase students' feeling of real responsibility for their work and their work situation. This will be discussed later.

d) Changes in the curriculum, with the relations between structure, teaching methods, teaching aids and evaluation as an important factor

e) The decision-making process within the school, relations between the various groups and participation of all those involved in school affairs

This subject, called internal democratisation in the Netherlands, provides the principal focus for study in this paper.

Although we will deal with only a limited number of the above-mentioned factors, the relationship between them is so significant that changes in one field only could not possibly lead to the desired outcome. With this in mind, the present trends in the Netherlands towards internal democratisation will be considered with a sharp eye on the extent to which the mechanisms used there for overcoming obstacles are applicable through the whole of the problem area with which we are concerned.

The models given and the activities mentioned all relate to secondary education.

2. In order to consider the significance of the process of decision-making within the school, it is first of all necessary to indicate the pattern of official control. In this section the various forms of control over Dutch schools will be explained and three examples of attempts to extend the basis of decision-making will be discussed. By such an extension the feeling of responsibility for decisions will be enlarged and there will be a greater motivation to work.

Control over Dutch schools

3. Dutch schools are subject to various forms of control. The most striking difference is seen between the public schools on the one hand and the denominational and private schools on the other.

With public schools, official control lies in the hands of the Town Council or the Ministry of Education. With private schools and denominational schools we are dealing with an association or the governing body of a foundation.(1) School associations sometimes have parent members and the governors are elected from and by the members. The members of the governing body of a foundation are mostly appointed by co-option. Parents need not be represented on such a board of governors.

In the Netherlands, public, private and denominational schools all get a practically 100 per cent State grant. This is established by law. Control is in the hands of inspectors (among others) and it is of a form that virtually excludes decisions being taken in sufficient, if any, consultation with all the groups that will be concerned in their implementation - for example school managements, teachers, students, non-teaching staff or parents. Although such a system may have fitted into the social pattern a century ago, the tendencies of the last few decades have generated many objections to it, not least its application to education. Several conflicts referred to later in this paper can be traced back to this situation. In the Netherlands, discussion of such topics has been pursued in various circles and groups, by the student unions and the "critical" teachers not only to improve upon the self-development and motivation to work but to break down authoritarian relations inside and outside the school - or, to put it differently, "to change society". These discussions have had the result that unofficially, and in some cases even officially, all those concerned with the school have become involved in some way in the decision making process.

This paper offers two examples of modifications within the official sector: the new Regulations for State Schools and the new Regulations for Secondary Education in the Utrecht Municipality. From the unofficial sector, the procedures at a private school, the Hague Montessori Lyceum, have been chosen as an example.

The New Regulations for State Schools

4. The Minister of Education is the highest authority. The inspector, who has control over a particular school, in a way represents the governing body. According to the regulations the Teachers' Meeting (teachers and school management) has a number of responsibilities. These include:

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1) Until the time State aid was granted (after World War II) the internationally famous school De Werkplaats Kindergemeenschap at Bilthoven (General Manager Ir. C. Boeke) formed a fascinating exception with regard to its governing body. The Board, which was responsible for everything, including appointments and financial management, consisted of the whole of the teaching staff.

- the opportunity to make proposals to the Minister;
- discussion of the plans for the organisation of education and the internal distribution of tasks and activities;
- making decisions about a student's progress within the school. For this there must be a two-third majority if the decision is not in accordance with the wishes of the student concerned and his parents.

Other sections in the regulations authorise the establishment of representative bodies for students and for non-teaching staff. The student body is elected from and by the students and is concerned with promoting student interest in school issues. The interests of non-teaching staff can be achieved by consultation between their representative body and the school management and teachers.

Parents' committees have already been constituted by law. In matters in which the Teachers' Meeting has a final say, it is laid down that it must consult parents' committees, non-teaching staff bodies and student bodies. Provisions for a body solely for teachers or a school parliament (with all groups represented) are not included in the regulation; neither are procedures for making nominations to the Minister for the appointment of school managers and teachers. The conclusion must be that the possibilities for participation of all groups have been increased by the new regulations but that the compulsory measures laid down are insufficient. Final decisions remain with the Minister or with the State Inspector in his name.

New Regulations for Secondary Education in the Utrecht Municipality

5. The highest authority for a Municipal school is the Town Council. The Burgomaster and Aldermen, the Councillor of Education (or the Head of the Department of Education or a Municipal Inspector acting on his behalf) form the direct controlling body for the school.

By the new regulations the Teachers' Meeting is given authority similar to that in the State schools. Furthermore, a student body and a school parliament are mentioned. This school parliament has as its members the school manager, teachers, students, parents and representatives from the non-teaching staff. Its main objectives are:

- the administration of special funds;
- advice to the Burgomaster and Aldermen, whether requested to or not, on all school affairs.

As far as the appointment of school managers and teachers is concerned, the regulations state that the school management, the teachers and the parents' committee will be consulted - although the final decision is taken by the Town Council on the recommendation of the Burgomaster and Aldermen. As to the student body, a section is included which says that the student body should be informed of the procedure to be followed.

During the discussions that preceded the passing of these regulations, it was decided that when they came into force (on 1.8.1972) a committee should be established of representatives of other groups, namely teachers' unions, parents and some expert officials. This committee will be advised by a scientific institute with experience in giving support to democratisation processes. The final conclusion must be that the possibilities for participation have been further increased by the new Utrecht regulations, although final decisions remain with the authority in power. The problem of conflicts arising as a result of the enactment of this regulation has been recognised and an attempt has been made to minimise them by the appointment of a supporting committee.

The Hague Montessori-Lyceum

6. This is a private school, not founded on any special philosophy, but started by parents

looking for adequate secondary education for their children who had been to Montessori primary schools. However, pupils with a more traditional primary education are also accepted. Control is exercised by a parents' committee.

The following procedure was not laid down in rules, but has emerged in practice and has thus proved its worth in school. Every plan, idea or general problem, from any sector whatsoever in the school, is put before a small standing committee of teachers and students, the so-called Utility Group. This Group has its tasks:

- to analyse the plan, idea or problem;
- to formulate it correctly;
- to inform the whole school about what has been proposed;
- to call an open meeting to discuss it.

At this open meeting a decision in principle is taken about the subject proposed. If it is decided that a change or something new has to be introduced in school life, the meeting assigns to a (different) small group the task of putting the decision into effect and gives it a complete mandate. The responsibility for the decision remains with the meeting; the responsibility for its execution lies with the small executive group. This procedure is followed by an evaluation. On the question of appointments, school management works together with the section concerned to present nominations to the parents' committee, where the final decision is taken. The participation of the relevant section in the process of appointing staff creates a feeling of co-responsibility which improves the adjustment of the new teacher and mutual co-operation.

This example from a private school illustrates that an essential part of democratisation is the involvement of relevant groups at each stage of the decision forming process. This should make fully clear the responsibilities of all participants.

These three examples do not perhaps do full justice to the numerous other schools where there has also been great advance in the democratisation process. However, with the objectives of this paper in view, this limitation will doubtless be understood and excused.

PROCESSES OF CHANGE

7. The question may be raised whether changes in official or unofficial decision-making procedures are the first points of action to activate democratisation processes within the school. In what follows some other possibilities are suggested.

8. We have just been examining some tendencies in change as they occur in the Netherlands and how these may result in a change in decision-forming processes within the school. This changed manner in the functioning of the various branches in the school presumes a type of mutual relations that has first to be learned, and it is proper to enquire how far changes in the micro-situation can be a preparation for this learning process. This brings us among other things to the teaching process and in particular to the relations between the teacher and the student. It has already been observed that this may lead us to a wider range of didactic methods, but it also raises the question of how far students and teachers can be involved in the evaluation of education. Both these questions are discussed here without the pretension that there are no other problems involved.

Didactic Methods

9. It is evident that there is an increasing demand in the Netherlands for a wider range of didactic methods. The problems involved are of a various nature. It is possible to see this demand as part of a general desire to achieve cognitive objectives more

successfully or within a shorter period of time. It may also be seen against the background of the effective objectives in education. Without wishing to ignore the successful attempts of individual teachers within their own subjects, the method of project work is in our opinion a good example of an educational approach in which cognitive and affective objectives can be brought together in an integrated way.

With project work we can proceed from the following starting points:

- the contents of the educational material can be planned by teachers and students as a team;
- in teaching, the differences in talent and interest of individual students can be taken into account as well as the specific skills of the teachers;
- project work demands a great measure of mutual co-operation between the students, between students and teachers and between teachers; the latter is important because of the need to deal with more than one subject at a time;
- project work can fulfil social aims more easily than normal school work;
- both teachers and students can participate in the evaluation phase.

Another issue influencing the demand for more didactical methods, and for the emphasis on project work within the whole range of teaching activities is the fact that group functioning and a sensitiveness to group processes are seen more and more as skills that are neglected in education and are therefore not generally acquired. This, among other things, explains the great demand for education to teach these skills.

One's conclusion is that training in social skills, didactic methods and project work is necessary to further the process of promoting a more general aim. During the last few years the Pedagogical Centre at Amsterdam has organised various conferences and training programmes in these areas.

Evaluation of Education (the process of learning)

10. Evaluation of education, and more specifically of the learning process, has until a short time ago been practised only by small groups of people connected with education, and more particularly by the teachers themselves. Parents and students have been only slightly involved in this process, if at all. The question may well be raised as to why valuable information has been lost in this way; but most important of all is the question whether the supposed lack of interest in education on the part of both parents and students is not due to the absence of an opportunity to participate in the evaluation process.

One concludes that it is indeed important to investigate existing or potential procedures for evaluating the educational process that permit the participation of all groups, especially students, whether at micro- or macro-level.

CONFLICT SITUATIONS AS A CONSEQUENCE OF DEMOCRATISATION PROCESSES

11. The differences in objectives of the various groups concerning democratisation processes have been discussed above. In this connection we mentioned the activities of the "critical" students and teachers, whose aim it is to reform society. Other controversies are also current within the sub-systems of education. As examples, we can refer to tension between:

- people who have been charged with professional aid outside the school and people working within the school;
- "progressive" and "conservative" teachers;

- the authorities and educational practitioners.

Examples could be cited of difficulties within each of these areas of tension, but they are not relevant here. What is relevant is the fact that a short while ago these value discrepancies were not considered to be significant and remained largely unexplored. However, unanticipated influences, often from outside, sometimes produce an unexpectedly swift effect. Controversies come to the surface and these external factors generate a conflict situation.

A number of such conflicts have emerged during the past few years and these require a solution. In other cases the conflict situation is potential but not yet manifest. It is, however, important to note that the problems mostly arise from the perceptions of the various groups and not from their objectives.

A School for Secondary Education in a Medium-sized Town

12. To complete this presentation we will now describe a case where the Pedagogical Centre at Amsterdam was called in to help.

The history of this case is as follows: The Council of Education wished to generate changes in the schools of the town. Democratisation proposals, made by the Councillor of Education, had already brought about a certain polarisation of opinion, but this was exacerbated in the school concerned because a small group of students had taken a stand. The decision-making structure of the school was strongly hierarchical. Misunderstandings (especially on the part of the controlling authority), measures taken by the school management which were not supported by the authorities, and internal tension all hampered normal educational progress.

The authorities then set up an independent committee of inquiry that was intended to suggest alternative ways in which all parties might look at the whole problem situation. Instead, however, its report concluded by summing up the faults made by the authorities, school management and teachers and making proposals for dismissal, transfer, deduction in salary (a month or a week) or reprimands for a number of teachers.

The Town Council received the report and decided to take no action at all. The Principal and one of the two Assistant Principals then went on sick-leave. At this stage (Autumn 1970) the authorities called in the aid of the Pedagogical Centre at Amsterdam to start discussions among the teachers again. The Centre was prepared to do this if the teachers' meeting did not object. Another condition was that they should not go into the question of who was responsible for the conflict.

A very small proportion of the teachers wanted at the outset a change in the decision of the authorities that had led to the sick-leave of the two school managers. A very large majority, however, decided that they needed assistance in starting afresh. Thus the Institute decided to help.

13. After our first talk with the Teachers' Meeting, it appeared that any discussion about school issues was impossible because of the way in which the teachers perceived each other as a result of what had occurred during the conflict. Because of this, the Pedagogical Centre decided to organise a number of meetings in which it was possible for different groups to get a different image of each other with the help of teamwork exercises. Although somewhat surprised by this unexpected approach, the groups decided to co-operate. This co-operation became even stronger when a national teachers' organisation started uttering very denigrating remarks about the aid and the methods applied. Then, after a previously agreed limited number of meetings, it was decided to hold a two-day conference to discuss the possibilities of a new start for the school.

However, the meetings had already had so much effect that the teachers decided to form a small internal group to take important decisions together with the Acting Principal. An effective task division among the members of the group had been accepted by the whole school. Some days prior to the two-day conference, however, the authorities started to advertise for a new Principal, since the members of the school management who were on sick-leave had accepted other posts. Hence the conference was able to consider whether the small group should have the chance to manage the school in the coming year 1971/72 or whether a new school manager should be found at once.

On request, the Councillor of Education attended the conference for one evening and it was made clear to him that the internal development of the school was so important that the small group should be given a chance. Accordingly, the Town Council gave their consent for the period of one year, during which the small group shaped developments within the school, receiving only a little support from the Pedagogical Centre. Not long after, the group agreed to the appointment of a new Principal to start with the school year 1972/73. Parents, teachers and students also had a say in the appointment procedure.

From this case we can conclude three things. First that training in social skills may contribute to problem solving and hence to a better situation for negotiations. Secondly, that a dependent relationship is not created thereby with the service-giving system; on the contrary, a group's ability to solve the problems by itself can be increased. In the third place we have found once again that when responsibilities are given to a group of teachers, even in a very complex situation, this may work very effectively.

CONCLUSIONS

14. Internal democratisation must be seen in a wider perspective than at present and an integrated approach embracing all related aspects is recommended. However, the marginal terms for such an integrated approach may not always be present. For example there may be lack of legal possibilities, insufficient support from the authorities, insufficient training of teachers and school managers or lack of professional staff to give aid. The approach taken by many schools in instituting representative bodies for teachers and students or school parliaments may not have positive results if there is no prior change in attitude that enables the various groups to communicate. An approach from the basic micro-situation is likely to be most fruitful. Additionally, the setting up of informal debating groups within the school for the discussion of various school issues may be of value during the stage before the new institutions are actually formalised.

Necessary but missing skills will have to be acquired in a systematic way. A service-giving staff will have to be set up to ensure that the area of school conflicts does not grow any larger.

V. MOBILISING LOCAL RESOURCES TO STRENGTHEN THE CAPACITY FOR INNOVATION AND CREATIVITY IN SCHOOLS

by

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1. It is well-known that many Norwegians live in sparsely populated areas. This fact creates a special problem for those who plan social, educational, and health services, or provide for handicapped people. In this paper particular attention will be paid to the last of these services.

Control versus Local Service Institutions

2. Until recently services to handicapped people have mostly been located in relatively large centres. This tendency to choose central solutions has not only been a trend in pedagogic planning, but has also been a characteristic of medical and social services. As an approach it has been criticised during the last ten years and today the pattern of provision for handicapped people is much more varied and we find small service units scattered all over the country. These smaller units co-operate with very large central institutions.

Service to Handicapped People and the Need for Team-work

3. Handicapped people need more medical help, social care, psychological diagnosis and therapy, and pedagogical support. In short, more attention from the social planner. This service demands team-work. We can examine how this task is handled in various districts and also take a look at the school situation.

Schools and Handicapped Pupils

4. Each local community has the responsibility for the first 9 years of schooling, that is education up to the age of 16. However, there is a separate law for all special education. According to this the government has the responsibility for the teaching of such groups as mentally deficients, children with sensory defects (deaf or blind), children with speech and reading difficulties and children with behavioural disorders.

After the Second World War the school system underwent considerable development, and local communities created schools with high material standards and good conditions for teaching and learning. In this development, however, the services for the handicapped fell behind. The government, whose duty it was to build them up, gave priority to other improvements while the communities, as we have seen, had no responsibility at all in this field. One result of this was that professional people such as psychologists and teachers specially trained for teaching the handicapped did not go to the smaller communities. In the 1960s there was considerable debate about these problems. Among other points made, was that all children had the right of education as near to their home as possible. Instead of

the separation of handicapped children from the normal school system and from the wider society, therefore, integration became the challenge to the local community. It was taken up also by the professional people who, by then, had become more interested in working in the small communities. The government supported this development and professional work in the districts got high prestige.

Working Methods in the Pedagogic/Psychological District Centres

5. The district centres should, it is felt, focus attention on their most important task - helping the local community to develop services for handicapped people. In schools, for example, they should establish more special education. The traditional service centres for school psychology had hitherto mostly been helping the ordinary school to segregate handicapped children, but in the late 'sixties centres for developing services for the handicapped were founded. These are called Pedagogic/Psychological District Centres. Their primary aim was to develop the capacity of the ordinary school to be capable of handling most problems. Their achievements included the provision of local courses for advanced teacher training in the education of the handicapped and the extension of the school counselling service. In addition to these district centres, pedagogical service centres were started. These had the responsibility for procuring good teaching materials and giving aid to teachers in the matter of teaching methods.

As the local schools engaged themselves in the work with pupils with sensory defects, mental deficiencies, or with other disabilities, it became apparent that the teachers on the whole wished to increase their knowledge about these kinds of problem.

6. The Pedagogic/Psychological District Centres used a form of action-oriented research as a working method, and the professionals attached to them performed a kind of exchange-agent role. At one district centre for example, a psychologist did a research survey on the adaptation to work of pupils from a school for mentally deficients and he used the results of this investigation to activate local authorities in their work for such children.

As the local authorities became interested in the service to the handicapped, much began to happen. The schools gained confidence in their own ability to manage, rather than sending handicapped pupils away to special institutions as they had done previously. Another important event was that out in the districts, especially in sparsely populated areas, it became more and more evident that it was of vital importance to co-operate with all kinds of professional people. To be able to work with children with brain injuries, sensory difficulties, and other problems, it was necessary for the school to establish more intimate co-operation with the doctor, the health nurse, the community school bureau, and so on. As this kind of team-work developed the local societies gained more confidence in their ability to cope. One might say that the larger centres could now learn a lot from the district units. The big centres had never really succeeded in establishing this kind of cross-professional co-operation. Such knowledge reassured the local communities that they were on the right track.

7. We now have good examples of how psychotic children can be integrated into an ordinary school and how mentally deficient children can also be taken care of there. The local school communities have worked hard and with interest and enthusiasm to solve these kinds of problem. It turned out that when local resources were mobilised they had considerable potentiality. The aim of the project was never to increase creativity in school, but it turned out that creativity was needed in order to manage the problems with which the school was confronted. This experience has also drawn new attention to the milieu of ordinary school society. What can we do to make this as flexible as possible, as open as

possible, to avoid segregating pupils with handicaps and to give them the best possible help? These are the problems discussed in many schools today. What is new in the debate is that the matter is no longer seen as belonging solely to the experts in the big institutions. One might say that attention has slowly turned from a concentration on special teaching to concentration on the ordinary teaching with an element of special training in it. We are now aware that the ordinary school segregated some children with special problems because of problems of school design and the organisation of teaching and learning. The new challenge to the local society is to create schools that do not segregate. The social and health services are also now thinking along these lines.

Placing Responsibility at Community Level

8. The local system has responsibility for developing services like kindergartens for children below school age - in Norway that is seven. It also has responsibility for youth activities and for the care of the old. The district health service is engaged in preventive health programmes for pre-school children among others. Dealing with handicapped young children also generates the possibility of preventative pedagogical measures. We see more and more educational, social, and health services co-operating in planning a school or a kindergarten. These new schools and kindergartens will have the facilities necessary for health service and social activities for the population in the local community. People now have confidence in their ability to collaborate and believe that this enables them to manage the problems they used to send away. We believe that discussion in the local community about this new planning of schools, social and health services has also strengthened their ability for creative work. The central planning of schools killed local initiative. A well-known theme in organisational theories is by what means organisations are able to become creative.

We do not believe that it is enough to decentralise decision-making, but it is one of the ways we have to try among many others. We think we have seen good creative work in schools as a result of more local responsibility. Creativity in school, we should never forget, has to do with the relation between pupils and between teachers and pupils, and a lot of factors contribute to such relationships.

Rules for Communication

9. We believe that the way in which the teacher communicates with the pupil depends to some extent on the rules for communication between the teacher and the authority. To study this communication the National Council for Innovation in Education contacted the Institute of Productivity and the Institute of Organisational Development. They wanted to acquire more knowledge about the organisational relations in the school that hinder or encourage self-development. This contact led to the preparation of a course in organisational development and co-operation which has now been used in a number of schools.

In our school system we have several organs for promoting co-operation. These are: a pupils' council, a teachers' council, class councils, a parents' council and committees for co-operation. We are now discussing how these different bodies should work. No definite procedures have yet been laid down, and it remains an open question whether they should be.

The course in co-operation just mentioned seems well suited to helping the local society to increase its own initiative. The earlier predominant tendency to ask the central authorities for permission to do this or that is by no means as strong as it was. The local communities now seem to have a greater freedom to decide what needs to be done, and having made this decision they only then work out tactics for obtaining the necessary

sanctions. It seems important to alter the approach from inactive asking to active planning. The course in co-operation usually concludes by forming action groups to improve the development of the school. Action groups may give feed-back to central authorities. A lot of work still has to be done in order to channel this way of thinking all the way into the classroom, to encourage the pupil to engage himself in more active work for his own situation. The pupils' council today does not have any influence on its own set of circumstances, but in situations where the schools have more autonomy over their finances we have seen this being used to give the pupils more responsibility. As has been shown, we are going through a typical trial and error phase and we are experiencing great difficulties in finding the right approach.

VI. INNOVATION AND THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF THE SCHOOL

by

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1. The topic chosen for special consideration in the British position paper is the relationship between creativity, i.e. the capacity to sustain innovation, and the social organisation of the school. The reason for this choice is that within the relatively decentralised British educational system the school enjoys a high degree of autonomy in such matters as curriculum, method and pupil-grouping, and hence must be regarded as the most significant innovating unit. The quality and extent of its innovating capacity is, therefore, of some interest.

2. The fact that the British system is relatively decentralised does not, of course, mean that the school is entirely free from external constraints. These arise from the policy-decisions made at the levels of national and local government. Moreover, the school is most certainly open to influence exerted by the administration at national and local levels and by a variety of other agencies. The point is, however, that although the possibility of influence is high, the possibility of coercion is very low. We can, perhaps, illustrate this with one or two examples. An individual school has no control over whether or not it becomes comprehensive. But to create comprehensive schools is not necessarily to create comprehensive education insofar as this term implies a particular educational approach. One can have comprehensive schools which do little more than perpetuate the type of education which was purveyed under the old selective system, or one can have comprehensive education based on a different concept involving mixed ability grouping, flexible organisation and pupil choice, counselling and pastoral work, etc. The educational response to structural reorganisation is largely a matter for the school (although, in fact, comprehensive reorganisation has generated considerable innovation in curriculum, method and pupil grouping as schools have responded to the challenge). Local Education Authorities, which have responsibility for the day to day administration of education, naturally have a considerable influence on what goes on inside the schools. It is no accident that certain LEA's are associated with particular forms of innovation. This influence is achieved through the allocation of resources, the selection of Head-teachers and other staff, the guidance given to schools by inspectors and advisers, and the nature of the in-service training provided.

3. But even LEAs do not intervene directly in the internal activities of the school, and individual schools can choose to withstand such influence and decide upon different objectives, curriculum, or internal organisation. The same applies to the expectations of the community and the influence of such agencies of innovation as the Nuffield Foundation and the Schools Council. Although there is within the Department of Education and Science considerable knowledge of curriculum matters, central government has in the past traditionally remained detached from questions of curriculum and method. Some years ago one Minister

of Education claimed that he was the wrong person to ask about the curriculum as he knew nothing about such matters. Another Minister of Education referred to "the secret garden of the curriculum" when initiating the process which led to the establishment of the Schools Council. The function of this Council is to initiate research and development on curriculum and examinations. Its publications are naturally influential but it has no powers of direction whatsoever. Even so, the teachers' associations were unhappy about the establishment of the Curriculum Study Group which preceded the Council, seeing it as the thin end of the wedge of Government interference in the curriculum. The Schools Council itself, with a majority of teachers on all its committees, was more acceptable to the teachers' associations, but was nevertheless greeted with some reservations.

4. One must mention the external examining boards as having a significant influence on the internal activities of the school. External examinations are held to exert one of the most potent constraints upon the internal activities of the British secondary school. In any system where secondary schools act as agencies of selection, and where this is achieved through examinations conducted by agencies outside the school on the basis of curricula which they decide, the school inevitably loses a degree of autonomy. This is true of the British system where external examinations restrict the autonomy of the school in matters of curriculum and method with regard to the more able children at the upper end of the secondary school. On the other hand, not all initiative disappears from the school. The fact that there are a number of examining boards for the General Certificate of Education enables the school some choice in syllabus. Moreover, the examination boards have become much more flexible in their approach to examinable subjects and curricula and are prepared to give sympathetic consideration to innovations suggested by groups of schools or even by individual schools. There is a much greater degree of flexibility in the examination procedures for the Certificate of Secondary Education, the examination taken at the age of sixteen by roughly the second quartile of the ability range. It is possible under this system for a school to have its own syllabus approved and to set its own examination with external moderation, but surprisingly few schools have taken advantage of this opportunity. This may, however, be due to the fact that teachers were in any case crucially involved in setting examinations at regional level.

5. Finally, one must consider the significance of the growing influence of parents. There is little doubt that in some schools parental pressures have been not inconsiderable factors leading to constraint in organisational and curricula development. Doubt and distrust regarding changing school policy are evident in some areas particularly among parents of more able pupils, although in the main parents have appeared to be prepared to trust the judgement of schools and be content to wait and see the ultimate effects of change. As teachers through their membership of local committees and groups become more involved in the work of curriculum innovation and development, the importance of publicity and of rapid dissemination of information within the educational service is being clearly realised. In several areas regular bulletins and papers are issued for circulation among teachers. It is something of a paradox, however, that at a time when schools are consciously extending their activities beyond the confines of the classroom into the community at large, they are failing to make clear to the community - in particular, employers and parents - the nature of the changes taking place in the aims, organisation and methods of the schools and the reasons for them. While schools generally acknowledge the interests and concerns of parents, comparatively few have as yet shown themselves prepared to take them fully into their confidence.

In sum, although there are very definite external constraints on the school, and although it is exposed to a number of sources of influence, the degree to which the school is innovative is to a large extent a function of its own "organisational character".

6. An assumption made in this paper is that autonomy is conducive to creativity if the internal organisation of the school is such that it sustains an innovative orientation. In recent years the British school has been open to new ideas and practices. Examples of the innovations that have been adopted by British secondary schools are:

- new curricula in the sciences and humanities;
- interdisciplinary enquiry;
- team teaching;
- mixed ability grouping;
- resource-based learning;
- flexible grouping;
- new modes of pupil assessment.

The rate of innovation is such that one might say that teachers are suffering from "innovation fatigue". But there are some indications that this innovation is often short-lived. It is adopted by schools but not institutionalised(1) to become a fully-functioning part of the school system. It is suggested that the reason for this is that, although schools have invested a great deal of effort in curriculum innovation (using that term widely) and have responded enthusiastically to the challenges that have been made, the success of these efforts has been limited by the fact that schools have not generally used their freedom to innovate to bring about changes in their own structures, decision-making procedures, professional relationships, etc. which may be a prior condition of successful innovation in curriculum and method. Thus, the dilemma faced by the school can be expressed as follows:

Curriculum innovations require changes in the internal organisation of the school.
Change in the internal organisation of the school is a major innovation.

7. This paper will explore the implications of these two propositions. It falls into four main parts. Part I considers the strategies of innovation which have emerged in recent years. Part II discusses the problems of institutionalisation. Part III considers the ways in which the social system of the school is changing, and the barriers encountered. Part IV suggests ways in which the school might be supported in its change efforts.

I. STRATEGIES OF CURRICULUM INNOVATION

8. In this context the term "curriculum" is used in a broad sense to include the totality of what is taught in school, the relationship between school subjects, teaching materials, teaching methods, technological and other aids, and the organisation of teaching/learning. One of the most significant developments in recent years has been not only an increase in the degree of innovation but also the emergence of a more systematic approach to development, dissemination and implementation. Earlier innovation had proceeded by means of the rather haphazard diffusion of new ideas and practices via networks of interested groups and

1) As used throughout this paper, the term institutionalisation implies that the school is to some degree transformed by the innovation and a new level of functioning achieved. It does not imply that the school adopts the innovation to fit to its own value system and procedures. It is also assumed that the innovation itself may, in time, undergo further changes as circumstances alter.

individuals. This occurred through the courses and conferences arranged by the Department of Education and Science, Local Education Authorities, universities and colleges, through the visits to schools made by members of Her Majesty's Inspectorate and the inspectors and advisers employed by Local Education Authorities, and through the educational press, radio and television. The adoption of new ideas by schools was dependent upon the enthusiasm of individual teachers. Where the innovation could be adopted by an individual, then his own commitment was sufficient. Where, however,the innovation involved the school as a whole, or a substantial segment of it (as with mixed ability grouping, for example), the commitment of the Head-teacher was essential. He might initiate the innovation himself or be persuaded to do so by members of his staff. Using the classifications suggested by Havelock, we can term this the social interaction pattern of innovation.

9. A more systematic approach to innovation emerged in the 1960s, especially in relation to the production and dissemination of curriculum materials. The initiative was taken by such central agencies as the Nuffield Foundation and the newly-established Schools Council. In Havelock's terms the dominant strategy was that of Research, Development and Dissemination (R, D & D). Materials were devised by a project team, developed in a number of trial schools and then made generally available for purchase by other schools. Some of these materials diffused widely. It has been estimated, for example, that Nuffield Science materials for pupils taking "O" level of the General Certificate of Education had been adopted by over 45 per cent of potential consumer schools within five years of publication. (one should note here the support of examining boards). The great advantage of the R, D & D approach is the high quality of the materials produced. On the other hand, teachers are more or less passive recipients of the packaged materials.

10. Tony Becher, Assistant Director of the Nuffield Foundation, who has studied trends in the strategies of innovation, has noted that an alternative to the R, D & D model began to emerge in the 1960s which he compared with the social interaction model of Havelock. It is, in fact, a development of the unplanned pattern of diffusion referred to above having become a much more systematic approach through the co-ordinating function of the various agencies of curriculum development. These agencies supported and serviced networks of teachers in developing their own materials. Teachers met together, usually on a local or regional basis, to reconsider particular parts of the curriculum and to collate and publish exemplars of good practice. This was the approach used, for example, in Project Technology of the Schools Council. This approach appealed to a number of Local Education Authorities who had felt that local needs were best met by local initiatives rather than through the R, D & D agencies. They supported "networks" of local teachers, which were often based upon the Authorities' own Teachers' Centres established during the 1960s.

An interesting example of collaboration between a university and a number of Local Education Authorities occurred in the North West Curriculum Project. This was financed by the Schools Council with the participating LEAs and was based upon the University of Manchester School of Education. A particular problem was selected for consideration - the curriculum of the extra year after the raising of the school leaving age - and a particular approach was taken towards curriculum development based upon Bloom's taxonomy. Panels of teachers, with college or university consultants, were established to consider curriculum objectives and to develop new approaches in the various aspects of the curriculum. Central to the scheme was a cadre of Teachers' Centre Leaders who worked with the project leader to establish the general direction of the project and then participated in panel meetings and acted as local agents of dissemination through their Centres.

11. There is little doubt that these strategies have made a considerable impact upon education in Britain, but it should be pointed out that they apply only to certain aspects of

what has been included within the concept of "curriculum" as adopted in this paper. They have been particularly effective in the dissemination of materials. They are also appropriate to innovation in certain aspects of the organisation of teaching/learning as, for example, discovery learning principles. But other innovations in the organisation of teaching/learning have been dependent upon the initiative of the school. We can consider the examples of mixed-ability grouping and team teaching. There has been a strong trend to mixed-ability grouping in the primary schools, but a proportion of secondary schools also instituted the practice, usually in the first or first and second years. It is difficult to say how this particular innovation originated. No doubt some schools decided on the basis of experience that mixed-ability grouping would be of general benefit to pupils. But certainly an impetus came from research published during the 1960s which indicated the "self-fulfilling prophecy" of streaming by ability. This research encouraged the implementation of mixed-ability grouping. As more schools began to adopt this mode of organisation, various agencies arranged courses, conferences and workshops on this innovation. A similar pattern occurred in the case of team teaching, although in this case the support of research was not available. Groups of enthusiastic teachers who saw virtues in team teaching secured its adoption by their schools and the innovation spread through the medium of courses and conferences. In fact, the strategies involved were little different from the unstructured social interaction model of change which depended upon diffusion amongst interested teachers making what use they could of existing forms of external support. Yet this sort of innovation, especially where it involved a fundamental change in professional relationships amongst teachers, as in the case of team teaching, is difficult to accomplish and perhaps even more difficult to sustain.

II. THE PROBLEM OF INSTITUTIONALISATION

12. The major problem which has been encountered in the attempt to introduce innovations in curriculum and method has been that of institutionalisation. British schools have been very eager to innovate, but they have experienced considerable difficulty in sustaining the innovations adopted until they have passed that tipping point whereat they have become a fully-functioning part of the social system of the individual school. Thus innovations have been dropped altogether or they have been so adapted to the prevailing modes of education that they have been robbed of their innovativeness. The motto "adopt and adapt" is generally sound in that it indicates the necessity of modifying an innovation in the light of local circumstances. But where the adaptation involves "knocking off the corners to get it through the door of the school" - in other words, adapting the innovation to prevailing patterns of curriculum, method, or organisation - the innovatory aspect is often lost. Thus materials designed to be used in the context of discovery learning are employed in traditionally didactic ways, the purpose of mixed-ability grouping is undermined where teachers effectively "stream" within a single class, and interdisciplinary work founders when individual teachers insist on maintaining their mono-disciplinary approach. There are perhaps two fundamental reasons why innovations fail to "take" - a lack of resources and "tissue rejection" by the school.

13. The question of resources will not be dealt with in any length, but one or two brief points can be made. The first is that resources are often needed for a longer period than anticipated. Innovations need extensive "after-care" if they are to be fully institutionalised. The R, D & D agencies have not always had the necessary resources to provide this after-care over a lengthy period - even for the small number of schools involved in the

initial development - and other agencies have not emerged to provide this support. Secondly, perhaps the most precious resource for the support of innovation is time. In particular at the school level teachers often require time free from teaching duties to acquire new knowledge and skills and, importantly, to collaborate with other teachers. Thirdly, to innovate "on the cheap" can often be frustrating for teachers. Head-teachers and Local Education Authorities may be reluctant to invest in expensive materials or equipment, and rationalise this by claiming that it is appropriate that teachers should produce their own. It is true that teachers can often produce innovations which are suited to their special problems, but innovation "on a shoestring" can often lead to strain. The importance of the investment factor should not be underestimated, but it is not the central concern of this paper.

14. Finally, we can touch briefly upon the role of non-teaching personnel in supporting innovation. The actual and potential roles cannot be given in detail here, but perhaps two functions can be identified. One is the release of teaching personnel from non-professional or semi-professional activities in order to allow them the time which is so essential to the planning and implementation of innovation. The other function is much more directly related to innovation and involves a professional service to teachers. An example would be the Inner London Education Authority's introduction of the Media Resources Officer, a well-trained and professional person skilled in providing teachers with learning resources in non-print media. Yet although it would appear that non-teaching personnel of various kinds could make a valuable contribution to the school's capacity to innovate, the extension of this practice is dependent upon its acceptance by the teachers' associations. Hitherto, these associations have expressed reservations about the employment of non-professional or para-professional people in schools, fearing that they might eventually take on some of the fully professional tasks of the teacher. There are also reservations about changing the balance between teaching and non-teaching personnel in schools. The teachers' associations would want to be assured that any developments of this kind would not be at the cost of expanding the teaching force.

15. "Tissue rejection" occurs where there is a discrepancy between an innovation and the "pedagogical code" of the school. Many current innovations are underpinned by a "code" which is quite radically new as far as the adopting school is concerned. This "code" may perhaps place an emphasis on openness and flexibility in matters of curriculum, methods and the organisation of learning. There are problems of institutionalisation at two levels. At the more superficial level there is the problem of institutionalising the "medium", e.g. materials, hardware, pupil-grouping. At a more fundamental level there is the problem of institutionalising, not only the medium, but also the "message" it carries, which is derived from the new pedagogical code. The media can often be readily adopted by one part of the school; the "message" requires a switch in code on the part of the school as a whole.

16. The problem of institutionalisation at these different levels has been illustrated in some of the studies which have been carried out on the process of innovation. Shipman studied the Integrated Studies Project financed by the Schools Council and based upon the University of Keele. Thirty-eight schools were involved and the strategy was of the "network" or "systematic social interaction" pattern referred to in the previous section. The direction of change was towards the integration of subjects, learning by enquiry and team-teaching. Shipman found that the innovating teachers experienced anxieties arising from those elements of the innovation which were characterised by what has been termed "openness" e.g. loss of the security formerly to be derived from subject teaching, classroom teaching and established modes of evaluation. The teachers experienced a variety

of pressures, some of which arose from the fact that their schools continued to function in traditional ways. The key issues determining the success of the innovation were: the degree of initial investment made by the teachers and their schools, the degree of support from outside agencies, and the degree of support from the Head and other teachers in the school.

17. Although not the only factor determining the success of this particular innovation, the support given by the school as a whole and its adaptive, creative capacity appears to have been most important. One might surmise that the support of the school for an innovation carrying a radical "message" is likely to be forthcoming where the underlying pedagogical "code" of the school is shifting. Where this is occurring, the institutionalisation of any innovation underpinned by the openness/flexibility code will be relatively easier to accomplish. But does the "code" change as the result of the adoption of a number of "message-carrying" innovations, in spite of the apparent difficulties of institutionalisation? Or does the prior innovation of a switch in the pedagogical code from within result in the successful institutionalisation of innovations already available?

18. Present evidence suggests that the major impetus for change comes from outside the school. At the same time there are indications that some schools are seeking to establish a positive attitude to innovation from within the school which is congruent with its pedagogical code. Such schools have been compared with the "learning systems" described by Schon. They utilize the strategy which Havelock has termed "problem-solving". This approach identifies a need, translates this into a problem, conducts a diagnosis, and institutes a search and retrieval process for information which can be used in formulating or selecting an innovation. Set out thus, the procedure is perhaps described in terms which are too tidy. Problem-solving is rarely as neat as that. But it does at least indicate the approach some schools are seeking to adopt where innovation is self-initiated on the basis of felt needs. But again, this approach is in itself quite a major innovation in the social system of the school.

III. INNOVATION AND THE SOCIAL SYSTEM OF THE SCHOOL

19. It is a major assumption of this paper that the school as a social system can be creative. This is not to deny the significance of the creative individual. Creative teachers and Head-teachers have been very important in the development of educational innovation in Britain. They have been the prophets and pathfinders - and often the rebels who have caused educational institutions to take a look at themselves. But education is a shared enterprise and even the rebels have had to persuade colleagues to adopt their proposals (and there have been some notable cases where rebels have been unable to gain this co-operation and their innovative efforts have not succeeded - at least in that place at that time). But in the ordinary run of educational life it is the quality of the school as an institution which is the important factor since perhaps the majority of educational innovations involve groups of teachers, if not entire schools. It is also an assumption of this paper that creativity requires the various components of the social system of the school to be, as it were, in phase, and that there is no great discrepancy between values, internal organisation, authority patterns, curriculum and modes of teaching. One of the problems leading to the tissue-rejection of innovations is that there has been a lag between the new materials or methods and the organisational changes, finance, equipment, and training facilities required to support them. In this section we can consider in turn several components of the social system of the school. In each case we can look at the traditional schools, identify the changes required to sustain a creative approach, examine

some of the barriers encountered and suggest necessary changes. Although these dimensions are considered separately, it is important to appreciate that they are closely interrelated.

Authority

20. Any discussion of authority within the school must inevitably begin with a consideration of the role of the Head-teacher. It is frequently affirmed that the British Head-teacher has a greater degree of authority than his counterpart in other systems. This can be seen as a corollary of the relative freedom of the school from external control by outside bodies which gives the Head-teacher a high degree of responsibility for the internal affairs of the school. The Head-teacher combines in the one role both policy-making and administration functions. He heads the two hierarchies of the school: the academic hierarchy based upon subject departments in which the Heads of Department play a key role, and the pastoral/administrative hierarchy based on the administrative sub-divisions of the school (e.g. houses) in which the Head of Division plays a key role.

21. Although the Head-teacher enjoys a considerable degree of authority, it should also be noted that the assistant teacher enjoys a considerable degree of autonomy. This is especially true where the unit of instruction is one teacher per class. Behind the closed door of his classroom the teacher functions in a relatively private setting, observed by his pupils but not by other teachers. This isolation is supported by a strong professional norm which affirms the teacher's freedom from the interference by other adults. His major constraint is the syllabus for his subject which he may or may not have been involved in devising. But he enjoys considerable autonomy in matters of teaching style, method and relationships with pupils. We thus have the situation where the Head has a high degree of authority over matters of policy but little control over the teacher's classroom work. On the other hand, the teacher has his classroom freedom but may be little involved in the policy decisions of the school.

22. The relative classroom autonomy of the teacher puts a premium on the Head-teacher's leadership skills. School policies have ultimately to be operationalised by teachers and this requires the Head to perform his role in a manner which is sufficiently motivating. This is particularly relevant to innovation since leadership is essentially concerned with changing the school's goals or the procedures for attaining existing goals. The key role of the Head-teacher in the school is central to innovation. He has the necessary authority to introduce innovations into the school, he has the opportunity to view the school as a whole and hence to see the need for innovation, he has contact with the "messengers" of innovation (e.g. inspectors), and he controls the resources which innovation usually requires. Thus, not only does the Head have the opportunity to initiate innovation himself but, where an individual or group of teachers wishes to introduce an innovation into school, the support of the Head is essential, for he must make the necessary resources available and arrange for any reorganisation in the school which may be involved. Thus, the innovativeness of schools has been very much a function of the leadership style of the Head and his capacity both to initiate innovation and secure its implementation and also to encourage innovative activities on the part of teachers.

23. Given the key role of the Head in the school, it would be easy to see the answer to the problems of innovation in terms of the leadership training of the Head. This is undoubtedly important but is perhaps not sufficient. It is currently argued that a change in the authority structure of the school is necessary. This is based on the view that the present authority structure inhibits the innovativeness of teachers. There is thus pressure for a move towards a collegial pattern of authority whereby professional equals govern

their affairs by internal democratic procedures. This move has two major sources. It is partly the outcome of changes in the social and political climate with its growing emphasis on the participation in the decision-making process by those whom the decisions will affect. It is also partly suggested by changes in the nature of teaching which are bringing teachers into closer collaboration and hence involving more lateral decision-making in the school.

24. Many Heads, especially in large schools, have created decision-making structures that involve teachers in policy making, and the very size of the new secondary schools has necessitated more delegation than in the past to subject departments and school divisions. In some large schools most of the responsibility for the day to day running of the lower, middle or upper levels (also called "schools") has been delegated to their respective Heads. But it is argued that authority is still hierarchical and teachers are involved in decisions about the educational policy of the school to a lesser degree than they are involved in administrative matters.

25. The greater involvement of teachers in decision-making may enhance the creativity of the school. On the other hand there are some unanswered questions concerning the viability of collegial authority. One major question concerns the role of the Head. At the present time he is responsible to his governors and to the LEA for the internal affairs of the school and must retain ultimate authority unless his responsibility is to pass formally to the staff as a collective to be exercised through an elected chairman. There are few signs of this possibility at the moment, although some schools have established "academic boards" which debate school policy but do not unsurp the final authority of the Head-teacher. The other question concerns the leadership role of the Head with regard to innovation. There is little doubt that innovation owes much to the most progressive of the British Head-teachers. The question must now be asked whether the same initiative can be given by the collective leadership of teachers of whether self-cancelling "veto groups" might not inhibit innovation. A further question concerns the willingness of teachers to participate in the exercise of collegial authority, since this would be an additional burden and perhaps detract from their work satisfaction which is mainly derived from the activity of teaching.

26. These must remain open questions. What is required at the moment are experiments in different forms of decision-making patterns in schools. One notable experiment is being carried out at Countesthorpe College in Leicestershire. The school was established with a specific mandate to incorporate many of the current innovations in education within a single project. Its first Warden, Tim McMullen (now with CERI), was appointed from the Nuffield Resources for Learning Project and two of his colleagues on the Project became members of the Countesthorpe staff. The curriculum innovations introduced included some interdisciplinary studies and the widespread use of self-instructional materials. Close relationships with the community were established and teacher-pupil relationships were liberalised. However, we are concerned here only with authority patterns. McMullen yielded his Head's authority to the staff meeting (or "Moot") which met weekly to discuss the overall policy of the school. Although still formally responsible for the internal affairs of the school, the Warden (Headmaster) regarded himself as the chief executive of the policy board of the school which elected an executive committee of senior staff to be responsible for decisions that had to be taken between its meetings.

Professional Relationships

27. The traditional structure of the British school involves the isolation of the teacher from his colleagues at the level of the day to day work. The emphasis has been on specialised subject teaching with one teacher to one class as the basic form of organisation for

instruction. Collaboration between teachers has been confined to deciding the content of the subject syllabus by members of an academic department - although this has been on a limited scale in some cases with the syllabus simply being handed down. The trend is now towards a greater degree of interdependence amongst teachers. This is occurring at a number of levels. The breaking down of subject barriers and the increase in interdisciplinary enquiry has led to increased collaboration across subject departments. This has often been accompanied by team teaching. This term has, of course, many connotations, but it is used here in a broad sense to include those forms of teaching which involve collaboration between teachers involving either the simultaneous teaching of a single group of pupils or the joint responsibility for a large number of pupils who may be learning in groups of different size. Another trend in the case of interdisciplinary teaching, and also in the case of discipline-based work, is for teachers to collaborate in the formulation of educational objectives. Finally, as noted previously, as the pattern of authority in schools moves towards collegiality, teachers become increasingly involved with each other in formulating school policy.

28. The greater interdependence of teachers is in many ways conducive to the creativity of the school. Under the system of independent class teaching the innovativeness of the individual teacher could go unnoticed. In a collaborative enterprise this would be observed by colleagues leading to the possibility of building up a body of good practice. Teachers bring to the joint enterprise different forms of knowledge and skill and different perspectives which are advantageous in two ways. The interplay of these individual differences is in itself creative in that it is mutually broadening for the teachers. And in a team situation it is possible to capitalise upon the particular strengths of individuals who can thus make different sorts of contribution to the enterprise as a whole.

29. The major problem that arises from interdependent professional relationships - as many reports have indicated - is that it is likely to generate anxieties in the teacher. He loses the anonymity of the classroom and must demonstrate his professionality to an audience of peers. It is necessary for him to acquire new knowledge and skills in a public setting. He loses the freedom to follow his mood and the opportunity to "rest on his oars" from time to time which he has to some degree in a system of class teaching. And, since the main source of the secondary school teacher's professional identity is his subject, this is threatened as subject boundaries are broken down. The teacher may also view this loss of identity as a threat to his career prospects.

30. We thus see again the dilemma which is the central concern of this paper. Innovation requires a collaborative professional relationship, but a collaborative relationship is itself an innovation. It can only be slowly established over time if anxiety is to be reduced and it is related to changes in the professionality of teachers - to which we can now turn.

Professionality

31. Since professionality is an attribute of the individual, its inclusion in this section on the social system of the school might be queried. But professionality is not simply an input of the school. The school itself is a crucial agent of professional improvement - a point which will be stressed in Part IV. It is for this reason that teacher professionality is here conceptualised as an aspect of the school.

Although a considerable oversimplification is involved, only two forms of professionality are hypothesised here.

The restricted professional can be hypothesised as having these characteristics amongst others:

a high level of classroom competence;
child-centredness (or sometimes subject-centredness);
a high degree of skill in understanding and handling children;
derives high satisfaction from personal relationships with pupils;
evaluates performance in terms of his own perceptions of changes in pupil behaviour and achievement;
attends short courses of a practical nature.

The extended professional has the qualities attributed to the restricted professional but has certain skills, perspectives and involvements in addition. His characteristics include the following:

views work in the wider context of school, community and society;
participates in a wide range of professional activities, e.g. subject panels, teachers' centres, conferences;
has a concern to link theory and practice;
has a commitment to some form of curriculum theory and mode of evaluation.

32. The movement from restricted to extended professionality would be considerable in the case of many teachers. There is evidence that many teachers who have an intuitive approach to teaching would find the requirements of extended professionality too rationalistic for their taste. Similarly, many teachers derive predominantly intrinsic interests from the activity of teaching and would not in the short term find satisfaction in the non-teaching activities which extended professionality involved.

33. We are thus, yet again, faced with our fundamental dilemma: innovation begets the need for innovation. It is tempting to see the answer to the problem of professionality in terms of the initial training of teachers where new patterns can be induced. There is much in this and the institutions of initial training moving somewhat in that direction. But the inculcation of extended professionality is perhaps the concern of the institutions of in-service training, since it must arise out of experience. It will, therefore, be suggested in the final section of this paper that new modes of in-service training may be required to induce extended professionality.

34. Although this paper is concerned with secondary schools, it is instructive to look briefly at recent developments in the British primary school which caters for pupils up to the age of eleven years. The creativity of these schools has drawn very favourable comments from educationists from many countries. The basic approach is developmental in that the stress is upon nurturing the growth of individual children through shifting the balance from formal class teaching to the creation of informal learning situations with an emphasis on exploration. The curriculum trend has been towards the integration of subjects, with the pupil's own environment taken as the starting point for much of this work. This shift in curriculum and method in the schools has been accompanied by a number of curriculum projects such as the Nuffield schemes for Mathematics and for Science.

35. In spite of the existence of national curriculum projects for primary schools, the transformation has been an informal, relatively unplanned, and more or less spontaneous movement. In order to understand how creativity in the primary school has perhaps been less problematic than in the secondary school, it is necessary to look at their different structures. Firstly, primary education is founded upon class teaching and very limited specialisation. Then, the target of change is the individual teacher rather than the subject department or interdisciplinary team, and the fact that the class teacher is

responsible for most aspects of children's learning means that changes in curriculum and method are likely to proceed as a piece and in phase. A second point to note is that the Head-teacher in the primary school, because of its relatively small size, and the greater opportunity for face-to-face contact, is perhaps in a stronger position than the Head of a large secondary school to induce a more creative school environment. And there is little doubt from the available evidence that primary school Head-teachers, supported by LEA advisers, have played a key role in the recent transition. Thirdly, the relatively greater ease of pupil control in the primary school than in the secondary school is likely to be more conducive to the creativity - although one would not want to press this difference too far. Finally, as the primary schools in Britain have gradually shed their selective functions, they have come to enjoy a degree of freedom from external pressure which the secondary school still experiences in the form of the examination system and other forms of external expectation.

36. The secondary school can certainly take lessons from the primary school in terms of its general educational approach, but it is unlikely that the process of change in the primary school has a great deal of applicability to the secondary school - at least, given its present structure. Its problems are so different that it must work out its own solutions.

IV. SUPPORT FOR THE SCHOOL

37. The argument of this paper so far has been that, although there has been considerable innovation in British schools in recent years, institutionalisation has been a problem since there has been a lag between innovations in curriculum, method and the organisation of teaching/learning and necessary changes in what might be termed the "deep structure" of the school. This is inevitable, since such radical change must be a slow process. Changes in this "deep structure" are being stimulated by the curriculum innovations themselves, but it is suggested that attention should be given to the supports which the school may need to effect this more fundamental shift without undue strain and anxiety for the staff. In this final Part we can consider some aspects of the support which can be given and which, in some cases, is beginning to emerge. The focus will be upon the school itself and the immediate support which it might receive. The assumption is made that the target of this support should be, to a greater degree than in the past, the school itself. The professional development of the individual is, of course, also vital, but it is part of the argument of this section that professional development of the individual and the improvement of the creativity of the school proceed simultaneously.

38. There has been a considerable expansion of in-service training in Britian in recent years. This is likely to be further increased if the report on the James Committee on the training of teachers is implemented. This report recommended a further increase in provision with a proposal that every teacher should be entitled to one term's sabbatical leave for every seven (and, in time, every five) years served. In-service training at the present time takes many forms, varying from one-day courses on purely practical aspects of teaching to courses of one or more year's duration leading to academic qualifications. For the most part, this in-service training involves teachers attending courses away from their schools <u>as individuals</u>. The argument advanced in the earlier sections of this paper might be seen as indicating the need for modifications in this pattern. Four propositions can be advanced:

i) In-service training should, to a greater extent than in the past, be linked with specific innovatory activities undertaken by the school. This happens to some degree at the present time where teachers attend courses to acquire knowledge and skills relevant to a particular innovation. But this can be extended and linked with the proposals below.

ii) The focus of in-service training should be to some degree a functioning group, e.g. a school staff, a subject department, interdisciplinary teams. The training would thus concern itself not only with the content of change but with procedures for implementing it.

iii) In-service training should ideally begin in the school. The school should establish its own staff development programme. This should be a necessary preliminary to staff becoming involved in in-service training in outside institutions, since this outside support should build upon the requirements of the school which the in-school training will have generated. Ron Pepper, Headmaster of the Thomas Calton Comprehensive School in London, has given an account of the in-school programme developed at this school which, amongst other activities, was concerned with preparing to participate in a new team-based integrated studies scheme. At Cousall Comprehensive School, Staffordshire, the Resource Centre is also an agency for curriculum innovation and in-service training on the shop floor. Although time is inevitably a problem, staff are released from normal duties for periods of one week in order to think, talk and begin to prepare their own materials. Staff programmes should also take account of the career development of individual teachers, since this can be a source of anxiety. Hartcliffe School in Bristol has recently appointed to its staff a person with special responsibility for this task.

iv) The in-school training schemes should have access to the facilities and resources of a professional centre, e.g. libraries, resource centre, residential accomodation.

39. One of the most interesting developments in the British educational system in recent years has been the Teachers' Centre. The majority of LEAs have established at least one of these in their areas. These centres function in very different ways but they generally act as a resource centre, a base for in-service courses and a place where teachers can hold meetings, conferences, etc. There is, perhaps, a case for considerably extending the functions of some of these centres to give a greater degree of support to innovating schools. The following can be suggested as possible functions:

a) Linkage

This term is used to cover those functions which involve linking various institutions by acting as a resource centre (for project materials, research findings, etc.), an information centre, and a liaison between colleges, schools, etc. where a connection would be mutually advantageous.

b) Project support

One of the difficulties of the R, D & D approach to innovation is to ensure continuing support for a school project after the withdrawal of the development team, or where a school has not been involved in the development stage. The professional centre might provide support for these projects and also for projects initiated in a single school and in the process of local diffusion.

c) Consultancy

The professional centre might be a base for permanent consultants or act as an agency

putting schools in touch with consultants. It can be argued that, in order to innovate successfully, a school may need the support of an external consultant who might work with the school in a non-directive manner. The consultant might assist changes in the curriculum, the attitudes, skills and knowledge of staff members, relationships within the school, and school organisation.

a) In-service training

The professional centre could be to provide in-service training. (It should be noted that the James Report recommends the establishment of professional centres based on universities, colleges or teachers' centres for the purpose of providing in-service training. The report does not, however, go into details as to what other functions such a centre would provide).

40. Finally, we can consider the roles of the H.M.I. and the local inspectorate. Inspectors of both kinds have played a most important role in curriculum innovation in this country in recent years by advising schools on specific innovations, arranging courses and conferences, and generally acting as resource persons. They have not, however, usually performed the consultancy role as described above - although there has been a move in this direction. We do not, at the moment, have a great deal of information on the functions performed by inspectors, but the indications are that they are too involved in other duties - particularly administration - to give the sort of help which many of them feel that they have to offer. There might be a case for developing this into a distinctive consultancy role based upon a professional centre.

CONCLUSION

41. The main argument of the paper has been that, although British schools have been willing to introduce innovations, there have been problems in the institutionalisation of these. This is, perhaps, due to a discrepancy between the requirements of the innovation and the quality of the social system of the school. A school which is free to establish its own staff-staff relations, forms of pupil grouping, arrangements for teaching and curriculum, its own form of staff-pupil relations, of school-social environment co-operation and so on (including influence over the promotion of its own educational ideology and a measure of involvement in the in-service education of its staff) is more likely to innovate than a school which does not have this autonomy. At the same time it is suggested that, in order to effect internal changes, a school should have access to a variety of supporting agencies.

APPENDIX CONCERNING SPECIFIC SCOTTISH ASPECTS

The Examination System

1. In Scotland, there is only one examining board. Until 1965 "O" and "H" grade syllabuses and examinations were administered by the Scottish Education Department working in consultation with teachers, professional associations and other interested bodies. Since that date an independent Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board has assumed these responsibilities. The Board, which is representative of the Scottish teaching profession, universities, colleges of education, industry and the Scottish

Education Department, controls examination procedures while maintaining liaison with the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum (see paragraph 2 below). Through their work as examiners, and through their membership of subject panels of the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board, teachers have assumed a predominant role in the conduct of the examination system. While examination systems of any nature appear to have inhibiting factors ascribed to them, they have effected through changes in syllabuses a number of developments, notably in the sciences and in English language and literature. The Certificate of Sixth Year Studies introduced in 1968 has, through the emphasis it places on independent work on the part of the candidates, had considerable impact on approach and methods at this stage.

Agencies Contributing to Curricular Innovation

2. H.M. Inspectors have been actively involved in the machinery of curricular innovation for many years, in the first instance because of the fact that until 1965 examinations were controlled by the Scottish Education Department and because curricular guidance at national level was usually provided by the Department. More recently the Inspectorate has continued to be closely involved in curricular development by association with other agencies. Through these agencies and by the establishment of close working relationships with local authority advisory staffs a consultancy role already exists. The Schools Council's sphere of influence does not extend to Scotland. The Secretary of State for Scotland's main advisory body on education is the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum, which is representative of universities, local education authority administrators, colleges of education, further education, primary and secondary schools. The Secretary of the Scottish Education Department is Chairman of the Committee, which also includes in its membership the Senior Chief Inspector of Schools and two Chief Inspectors. The Inspectorate are also represented on all Working Parties and Central Committees which have been set up by the Consultative Committee.

In the early years of its existence the Consultative Committee investigated curricular areas through a series of ad hoc working parties which were disbanded on completion of their remit. More recently it has been accepted increasingly that curricular development is a continuous process which requires standing bodies to implement it. In consequence central committees have been established in a number of fields (English, modern languages, science, social subjects) and it is the intention to set up others, for example in technical education. In association with these central committees and under their general direction a number of national curricular development centres have been set up. Those existing at present are for science and mathematics, English, modern languages and social subjects. These new centres will be dependent upon a two-way relationship with local groups of teachers, whose number is rapidly increasing.

While much of the activity of these local groups has been concerned with individual subject elements of the curriculum, there is a growing tendency for them to consider aspects of a wider interdisciplinary nature or to go beyond curricular interests, for example conservation of the environment. A further stimulus to local innovation has been given by the appointment in some areas of additional advisory staff, many of whom have been active in stimulating and guiding reappraisal and experiment.

Social Organisation of the School

3. The traditional academic hierarchical structure of Scottish schools is being modified as a result of proposals for a new structure of promoted posts which, after consultation with appropriate bodies, has been promulgated by the Secretary of State for

Scotland. The main function of the new structure is to provide for a more up-to-date and effective management of the educational and social functions of the school of Circular No. 826 "The Structure of Promoted Posts in Secondary Schools in Scotland", HMSO, 1971.

In-Service Training

4. While the recommendations of the James Committee Report do not apply to Scotland, there is general agreement with the concern and views expressed upon in-service training. The swift growth of in-service training in Scotland provided by colleges of education, local authorities and teachers' associations led to the forming in 1967 of a National Committee for the In-Service Training of Teachers in order to co-ordinate courses on a national basis. Plans are well advanced for a series of national in-service courses to be held over the next three years. In addition, a working party set up by the General Teaching Council to consider the training of graduates has produced a first draft of its Report.

VII. THE STRUCTURE OF PROFESSIONAL SUPPORT AND ITS IMPACT ON THE CREATIVITY OF THE SCHOOL

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1. The potential capacity of the school to deal with innovation (especially in a country where schools are equally subsidised by the government) is to a large extent dependent upon:

a) the quality of the teaching staff;
b) the capacity for decision-making in setting up a curriculum and the choice of teaching methods;
c) the stringency of legislation and administrative regulations concerning the internal organisation of schools, working hours and expenditure;
d) the size of the schools (number of teachers) and their distribution over the country;
e) the structure of external professional support to the schools and the educational system as a whole.

This paper focuses on the organisational structure of professional support to the schools and some specific aspects of the impact of institutionalised assistance by experts. (See paragraph 17).

2. In the following sketch of the organisational structure of institutions for educational innovation and the guidance of pupils, we are chiefly concerned with those institutions and provisions which are regarded as forming an essential part of the total educational system of our country: the 3 national pedagogical centres(1) and nearly 30 regional centres for educational innovation and guidance.(2)

The work of the regional centres lays particular emphasis on a direct working relationship with the schools in a region. The activities of the three national centres are often carried out with a more distantial relationship (although this varies with the type of school).

In contrast to the regional centres, the national centres are subdivided according to denomination. Their activities embrace all branches of education with the exception

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1) These are the Algemeen Pedagogisch Studiecentrum, Amsterdam, the Christelijk Pedagogisch Studiecentrum, Hoevelaken and the Katholiek Pedagogisch Studiecentrum, 's-Hertogenbosch.

2) These regional centres have such names as: onderwijsadviescentrum, onderwijsadviesdienst, schooladviesdienst, schoolpedagogische dienst, etc. A list of them can be obtained from the Secretariat of the W.P.R.O., c/o Rotterdam, Schooladviesdienst, Rotterdam.

of the universities and some branches of non-university higher education. The work of the regional centres is for the moment primarily directed towards nursery schools, primary schools and the schools for special education, although their services are being increasingly extended to various types of secondary education.

Further, there are various institutions engaged in promoting and stimulating educational development without entering into a direct working relationship with individual schools or groups of schools: the Foundation for Educational Research (Stichting voor Onderzoek van het Onderwijs, 's-Gravenhage), the National Institute for Test Development (Centraal Instituut voor Toets-Ontwikkeling, Arnhem), several subject Committees for Curriculum Improvement (Commissies Modernisering Leerplannen) and various institutions in the field of audio-visual media, such as school television. The increasing influence of university departments and institutions closely connected with universities also deserves mention in this context.

The publishers of educational materials (school books and teacher manuals) have their own production teams (authors) and developmental institutes (with international connections). These commercial establishments fulfil an important function in the process of educational development, but are not counted as belonging to the field of professional support.

3. Professional support for the schools becomes an increasingly important factor in the complicated process of educational change as other circumstances (see above 1 a-d) impede the process of strengthening the creativity of the school. The impact of external support is also sometimes restricted by impediments in the schools themselves.

Two conditions seem to be of crucial significance: flexibility in the employment of working hours and allocation of financial resources to the school itself. It is detrimental both to the problem-solving capacity of the school itself and to the response it can make to professional support from outside if the working hours of the teaching staff are filled with straightforward teaching. This is in part a consequence of legal regulations, but at the same time a question of the teacher's approach to his work. Restrictions of the capacity for decision-making with regard to allocation of financial resources at a local level is also unfavourable to the creativity of the school. Flexibility is a necessity whereby individual schools may themselves (with professional support) achieve a redistribution of the financial resources in accordance with the requirements of a particular innovation policy.

4. It is, of course, important for the planning of professional support to schools to know the extent to which the restrictive conditions are a consequence of legal precepts and administrative formalities, or else in part based upon tradition, nonchalance, lacunae in the professional training of teachers and administrators, or status seeking - for instance in building schools luxuriously. Since existing practice with regard to employment of manpower and allocation of financial resources is of central importance for the planning and management of innovative activity, professional support to the schools must be increasingly extended to the educational and administrative authorities both at a local (or regional) and a national level.

Despite the justifiable fear on the part of several professional advisers (educationalists, curriculum-specialists, psychologists, change-agents, co-workers, etc.) of finding themselves in situations where there is a built-in conflict of duties, development of all-inclusive school advising is increasingly recognised to be inevitable. These advisory functions chiefly involve policy with regard to the selection of teachers and school-heads, basic principles and planning with regard to the regulation of working-hours, financial policy (especially long-term planning), and some decisions concerning school buildings and furnishing.

5. As may be expected at the present stage of development of a comprehensive structure of supporting institutions, questions of some weight and interesting points of discussion arise. There is a variety of views as to the most efficient form of management for the centres and the way in which the participation of the schools, school boards and parents could be organised and canalised. There must be a continuous critical evaluation of the centres' form of management and the work programmes they are trying to effect; the participants in the innovational actions and processes cannot be left out in this. A further point of discussion is the distribution of tasks and responsibilities between the participants within the field of work. The discussions in fact touch upon the very foundations of institutional service and upon the principles and expedience of models and strategies of educational innovation.

In themselves these discussions form a positive element in the process of actualisation of the innovative capacity of both the schools and the supporting centres. The relevant functions of the other supporting agencies at the national level (mentioned in paragraph 2) will, of course, be taken into account in these deliberations. At the same time, however, it is noticeable that in the exchange of ideas at the school level attention is paid only sporadically to links with fundamental research in education and psychology. One may speak of widely separated worlds.

6. In order to achieve a proper idea of the development of institutionalised professional support in the Netherlands, and to attain a realistic frame of reference for an accurate assessment of the rationale behind the present structure, some further information concerning our educational system is necessary.

The Scattered Educational System

7. Holland is a small but very thickly populated country (389 inhabitants per km^2). Yet there are only a few large schools. The great majority of schools, including those at the level of secondary education, is of a limited size, and there is a surprising number of really small ones (particularly nursery and primary schools).

The dispersal of the educational system which has come about historically is a significant factor in the process of construction of an adequate structure of supporting agencies. Consciousness of this has developed especially during the last ten years. This process is characterised by two interacting tendencies: decentralisation and regionalisation.

On account of the great number of schools necessarily involved, there is a tendency at the centre to neglect many concrete innovational tasks and leave them to regional and local institutions (decentralisation). There is no question of delegation in this, since structural relationships between the network of regional centres on the one hand and national centres on the other are absent. As a result there is a great need for co-ordination.

At local and regional levels, on the other hand, autonomous activity is observable as a marshalling of forces unique in the history of Dutch education, leading to co-operation between the Boards of schools of different denominations in the administration of the regional centre. This has formed a basis for numerous working relationships between the schools and the regional centre, and conduces to ever-increasing co-operation between the schools themselves. The people in the schools and the School Boards themselves are clearly starting to think within a widening horizon where the interests of a region as a totality come into view (regionalisation).

8. Approximately half the Dutch population lives in 21 urban agglomerations, each having more than 100,000 inhabitants. The other 6.5 million are scattered over about 700 medium-

sized or small municipalities. Although these local authorities are the smallest administrative units in our country, they are in no sense the smallest living communities. More or less all municipalities are subdivided into "living centres" (districts, villages, hamlets) usually of such a size that one or more schools are established there. Where there are sufficient children, each centre of population may have its own school.

In this way a village may, for instance, have three nursery schools, each with one teacher, and three small primary schools, a Roman-Catholic school, a Protestant school and a non-denominational school (or State school), each with its own Headmaster and, for example, only one other teacher. For the primary schools the situation amounts to this: there are three Headmasters and three teachers, with a total of 130 pupils from 6 to 12 or 13 years of age, spread over three separate school buildings less than a stone's throw from each other. In the medium-sized municipalities large enough to maintain various schools for secondary education, similar situations may occur, although different numbers of teachers and pupils are, of course, involved.

9. Every school owes its existence to a sufficient number of pupils: as soon as this falls below the legally established minimum the government subsidy is withdrawn. Within the secondary schools a relatively small number of pupils sets a serious limitation on the differentiation in courses of study which is now generally considered desirable and made possible in the form of choice between "parcels" of subjects ("optional subjects"). In many cases - certainly at the nursery and primary school level, but also within certain types of secondary education - care for the continued existence of the school as such calls for much attention and inventiveness on the part of those whose employment after all depends on the number of pupils - namely the teachers.

This situation places certain restrictions on the regional centres. Co-operation with the schools and between the schools themselves, in so far as they participate in projects of educational change or other innovation activities, must not be endangered. After all, the continued existence and the activities of the regional centres depend upon such co-operation between "competitors" (i.e. schools competing for a sufficient number of pupils).

The inevitability of decentralisation of professional support is immediately clear from a brief survey of the Dutch school system as such. Attention has already been drawn to the marked scattering of the schools with, in consequence, the relatively limited size of the individual schools. Briefly, the picture is this: in 1970 there were about 6,400 nursery schools with 492,000 children from 4 - 6 years old and 16,000 teachers; about 8,200 primary schools with 1,465,000 pupils from 6 - 12 years old and 48,000 teachers; almost 800 schools for handicapped children with 74,000 pupils and 6,100 teachers; about 4,000 schools for secondary education with 1,073,000 full-time students (pre-university and non-university higher education included, the latter category containing, inter alia, no less than 142 teacher training colleges); and 13 universities with 102,000 students. The facilities for part-time education available for young people at work are not here included.

It is clear that the field of work is immense, even though university education and some branches of non-university higher education are excluded from the forms of professional support discussed in this paper. It should be pointed out too that a start has been made in setting up institutes for professional support in the universities, and as these constitute part of the civitas universitatis it is possible to speak of them as a form of internal professional support.

10. Nevertheless, the recent recognition of the necessity for a decentralised approach is not primarily a consequence of the size and dispersion of the schools as units within

the educational system. Acceptance of a new model for invoking professional support for innovative action and the guidance of pupils has probably been the crucial factor. This new approach is based upon the participation of teachers in concrete projects and activities directed towards educational change. In this the aims and priorities are fixed in mutual discussion and the direct presence of professional advisers in the schools can be depended upon during execution. The continuity of such support is guaranteed by adequate co-operation at the administrative level - that is, between the educational authorities (school boards), the centre's board of management, and the local authorities (town councils).

Towards an Integrated Structure of Professional Support

11. The present situation can be described with some optimism as a transitional stage between a period with an uncoordinated disjointed system of professional support and a new era with an integrated approach towards innovation and guidance. School education has come under the influence of outside powers to an increasing extent, especially during the present century. Among the results of this are the improvement in teacher training colleges, the creation of the school medical service, the improvement in the quality of school books, learning materials and teaching aids, the increased interest of the universities, the extension of the activities of mental health organisations and child guidance clinics, the setting up of pedagogical centres for dissemination of information and new ideas and practices, and of recent date the interest of researchers, economists and activists. The idea of co-ordination and - as far as possible - integration of activities is gradually gaining acceptance. In consequence help for the various separate schools from professional advisers who are also well-informed about the specific problems of each of the schools and have the confidence of the school staff, is quite essential.

12. We have just been speaking about an integrated approach and the need for co-ordination. It is inherent in integrated planning in the field of innovation and individual guidance that the interests of individuals (each of the children and their teachers) and systems (separate schools and local educational systems) should be promoted equally. Professional support to the schools is not one-sidedly directed towards educational change, nor limited to an attempt to adapt individuals to existing systems. It is obvious that the realisation of such a strategy necessitates decentralisation and regionalisation during its implementation.

With the transfer of the essential activities to the basic units of the educational system - i.e. the schools and the regional centres - the problem of their co-ordination and harmonization inevitably arises. Strengthening of the bonds between the schools themselves and extension of the co-operative relationship recently assumed by the existing regional centres are necessary but not sufficient conditions for this. Too much diversity in the development of education should be avoided for reasons of principle as well as on pragmatic grounds.

There is also some disharmony between systems of professional support within the sector concerned with institutionalised innovation in schools. This is due to the absence of structural relationships between the national pedagogical centres and the regional centres. The situation is further complicated by another difference: the national centres are chiefly engaged in supporting projects of educational change, while the regional centres pursue a policy of integrating educational change with individual guidance. They include the traditional mental health dimension in the total strategy of support for the development of education.

13. A basic principle underlying the promotion of creativity of the school should be respect for the teachers and students in their own right. This also applies to the relationship between support centres and the schools, particularly when the chief aim is provision of adequate material for pupils and teachers by means of manuals and syllabuses, or courses and supporting material for schooling or in-service training. Computers must be programmed, but people may not be and, if all is well, educators cannot be. To leave room for initiative is to create room for reflection, discussion and co-operation.

Another consideration of importance at the start is the involvement of parents, educational authorities, and (in secondary education) the students themselves. Care for the efficient propagation of information is the minimum required of those directly involved in innovative action. The primary responsibility for contact with parents and others involved lies - pragmatically and in principle - with the school itself.

Co-operation between practitioners and professional advisers should start on a voluntary basis. From the moment, however, a project starts and appointments have been made, a definite commitment binds both partners. In the past much energy and goodwill has been lost because the co-operative relations between agencies of professional support and the schools involved in innovative activities were set up too casually. Guarantees for the continuity of support to the schools are of the greatest importance for the growth of mutual confidence between teaching staffs (and others involved, such as parents and inspectorate) on the one hand and the innovation experts and consultants on the other.

The Central Issues: Curriculum, Individual Differences and Democratisation

14. Every process of educational change has its starting point and expression in the school itself. This applies not only to innovative activity arising from co-operation between schools and professional advisers, but also to educational changes brought about by a capacity for self-renewal on the part of the schools themselves. There are three central issues:

i) The curriculum as a blueprint for the functioning of a school, a group of schools or a local school system. The curriculum states the aims and contents of the educational process, it motivates the application of specific teaching methods and aids, it defines the assessment of pupil performance and teacher effectiveness, it contains recommendations for the planning of activities, the internal school organisation, the grouping of pupils and so on.

ii) The individual differences between pupils as a problem for the school as an institution, and a challenge for the teachers and professional advisers working with and for the children.

iii) School life and the tendency towards democratisation of teacher-pupil relationships and of decision-making in the school context, against the background of changes in social life within contemporary western democracies. We shall not go further into this issue, as it has been treated already by H.J. Jacobs in Chapter IV.

15. The need for professional support to the schools, both in the construction and periodic revision of the curriculum and in the individualisation of school education (e.g. non-grading), is becoming increasingly recognised. The extent to which professional advisers are called in, however, varies with the nature of the problems involved.

A large number of problems can be solved satisfactorily by the schools themselves, with just a little assistance from regional or national centres. This presupposes in many cases an improvement in communication between the schools and these agencies. This had been partly a structural problem and partly one of teaching staffs getting used to their

new potentialities (end of isolation, increase of written communication, appreciation that two heads are often better than one, and so on). The primary aim of the contacts and discussions between the practitioners in the schools and the advising educationalists and psychologists amounts in many cases to the restoration of confidence in the problem-solving function of the schools by stimulating awareness of their own capacity for decision-making.

A period of thorough preparation will be necessary before it is possible to come to grips with the really broad issues, such as those concerning the external structure of the school system and developments on a national level. Already, however, at least two prerequisites seem clear. First the necessity for combined planning of national and regional institutes, in close co-operation with specialised national institutions, on the basis of active co-operation and real support from central and local government. Secondly, there will have to be a team of professional advisers which already has the confidence of the schools and will be available for concrete assistance in the classrooms.

Co-operation, Co-ordination and Control

16. We have already alluded to the contemporary dependence of the regional and national centres on the support of specialised national institutes and committees and on the productions of educational publishers. Co-operation between the centres, institutes and committees is to an increasing extent regulated via points of co-ordination in the national and regional centres /see paragraph 17, (a) and (b)7. Preliminary contacts with the same aim in view have also been made with the publishing companies.

More is, however, needed. Co-ordination is desirable to limit diversity in the development of the schools and their programmes. At the same time, supervision is necessary to avoid particular emphasis on any one aspect. There must be a survey of the developments within the schools and the regional centres to enable each of them to compare their own contribution in the process of educational change with developments in the schools and centres in other regions.

17. A few points of contact and structural relationships for co-operation have gradually been developed through the initiative of the centres and other institutes. Such initiative has not yet been taken, however, in the matter of supervision. At a national level, the following summary of cross-relationships may be of interest as a supplement to the more generalised statement with which this paper began.

a) The regional centres for educational innovation and guidance have joined forces, the Association of Local and Regional Educational Advice Centres ("Werkverband van Plaatselijke en Regionale Onderwijsadviescentra - WPRO).
b) The national pedagogical centres collaborate through the Association for National Pedagogical Centres (Vereniging Samenwerkende Landelijke Pedagogische Centra - VSLPC).
c) A great diversity of institutions and associations which are in some way of service to schools and/or school children (primary and secondary education) find an opportunity for guidance and mutual consultation in a national council known as the Landelijke Raad voor Schooladvieswerk - LRS. It caters for institutions such as the school medical service, mental health organisations, pedagogical centres, teachers' unions, bureaux for educational and vocational guidance, and the like.
d) Contacts between the above co-ordinating centres and institutions and the Ministry of Education are usually maintained via the Ministry's department of Research and Planning (Afd. Onderzoek en Planning - OP).

e) A Foundation for Educational Research (Stichting voor Onderzoek van het Onderwijs - SVO) has been set up to stimulate research and development in education and to finance specific projects in this field.

f) The close relationship between the Ministry of Education and the Foundation for Educational Research (which is already financed directly by the Ministry) is illustrated by their joint membership of a co-ordinating committee that subsidises official experimental projects on educational change. This is the Commissie Onderwijskundige Experimenten - COE.

g) The National Institute for Test Development (Centraal Instituut voor Toets-Ontwikkeling - CITO) has already been mentioned (paragraph 2) as one of the specialised national institutions concerned with the promotion and stimulation of educational developments. In the present context of creativity it is relevant to recall its recent interest in the objectives and content of school education. This Institute also co-operates with schools and the national/regional centres.

h) The Ministry of Education has created several committees for curriculum improvement (Commissies Modernisering Leerplannen - CML). These concern themselves with the content of educational innovations, with refresher courses for teachers (mainly secondary education), and with the adjustment of final examinations. Some of them provide a modest professional administrative service; the oldest runs a specialised institute for the development of the teaching of mathematics (Instituut voor de Ontwikkeling van het Wiskunde-Onderwijs - IOWO).

i) The Ministry of Education has also set up an official Committee for the Organisation and Co-ordination of Curriculum Development (Commissie Organisatie Leerplan-Ontwikkeling - COLO). This has recently advised the Minister in the so-called COLO Reports for 1971 and 1972. How far the analysis and recommendations of this committee will be adopted is not yet known; it is certain, however, that the Committee's initiative in this field, particularly when co-ordinated with the policy of the Ministry, will have a great influence on the development of education in the Netherlands.

VIII. SOME FACTORS AFFECTING THE CREATIVITY OF PORTUGUESE SCHOOLS

by

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1. This report on problems affecting creativity of Portuguese schools will not be exhaustive, nor will it consider exclusively pedagogical aspects. Its aim will be to select those relevant factors that seem to prevent the spread of creativity in basic and secondary(1) schools. Problems concerning school buildings, learning materials, allocation of financial resources, management and the internal hierarchy in the schools will be excluded.

No particular emphasis will be given to aspects strictly related to pedagogy because, as far as Portugal is concerned, factors such as the institutional mechanisms for teacher training and utilisation, the development of innovation, the distribution of powers in the administration of education and the functions of counselling and control in the framework of the school inspectorate are just as important in determining the process of creativity.

2. Education, when considered in itself, appears as an objective in a way independent of historical circumstances, acting as an impelling or guiding force for the educational process centred on a person. The national educational system, however, appears as a set of means situated in the history of some country and at the service of that educational process. As long as this process is carried out in school institutions and particularly in those which devote most of their efforts to the education of youth, it is to be expected that the creativity of the school will depend not only on educational objectives, but also on the structure and functioning of the formal system of education and its capability of assimilating the vast experience resulting from the extra-curricular activities of young students.

The Teaching-Learning Process

3. So far as students are concerned the action of educational agents finds immediate expression through the teaching-learning process. The teachers' mission in school or with regard to young people does not of course end there, but the teaching-learning process is certainly one of the most significant indicators of the pedagogical relationship. Brief notes on this process will help to illustrate how the general problem under consideration has been dealt with in Portugal and what the prospects are in the near future. These notes will also throw light upon the inhibiting factors that have the greatest determining influence on the degree of creativity in Portuguese schools.

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1) Terminology used in the present Portuguese educational system.

The Centralised System of Curricula and Syllabuses

4. In Portugal the establishment of curricula and syllabuses for primary (4 years), preparatory (2 years currently) and secondary (5 years currently) levels of education is the responsibility of the central services(1) of the Ministry of National Education.

These departments work out the sets of subjects for each stage and the content of each subject and these are then presented to the Government for approval. In line with the approved syllabuses, different authors submit text-books, manuals and other such school books to the "Junta Nacional da Educacao" (National Board of Education) for appreciation. This is done on a competitive basis and, in most cases, the Board approves only one text-book for a given subject and that book is subsequently used compulsorily in all schools at the relevant educational level. In some cases, however, this selection of a single book is not made and each school is free to choose the one it finds most suitable. An exception - which will probably be the rule in the future - is made with regard to preparatory education. Here there are no single text-books legally defined as such and at present it is the General Directorate for Basic Education that approves the books and, together with the teachers of each educational centre, decides which of them is to be used for each subject.

The curriculum development of each subject as well as the school books - which are one of the most important working tools for the teachers, although they are written for the students - are, therefore, generally established through a vertical, centralised and rigid process. As a result, little freedom is left to the schools to adjust the proposed subjects to the lives and experiences of their students and to local and regional peculiarities, although in the case of some subjects, teachers (and sometimes students) are free to produce their own material. However, this does not dispose of the manuals specially prepared for their guidance nor the rules laid down by the inspectorate for curriculum development.

The Role of Observation and Guidance

5. The activities of observation and educational guidance may be conceived "as a set of compensatory and formative actions, the aim of which is to promote the maximum efficiency of the students and their well-balanced adaptation to life, through the discovery, stimulation, guidance and rational utilisation of their aptitudes and fundamental interests".(2)

Thus observation and educational guidance presuppose a careful examination of every single student and his socio-familial background. In Portugal such activities are systematically undertaken only at the educational level corresponding to the two years following primary education, that is, at the level of the first stage of secondary education. In any case, there is no overall strategy involving a collaborative team of specialists (e.g. educators, psychologists, social workers) in developing patterns of school organisation and teaching method.

The System of Evaluation of Student Achievement

6. Furthermore, the system of evaluation of student achievement in most cases still makes use of the method that gives predominance to the mnemonic capacity of the students. It is

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1) "Direccao Geral do Ensino Basico" (General Directorate for Basic Education) for the first two levels and "Direccao Geral do Ensino Secundario" (General Directorate for Secondary Education) for the third.

2) CASTELO BRANCO, Amilcar, Inf. 13/72, (NEE)IE/C. GEPAE, 1972.

therefore difficult to reconcile discipline and objectivity with a pedagogical approach which emphasizes observation, discovery and group-work. Examinations, final or partial, written or oral, continue to be factors which obstruct the creativity process, as are of course the shortcomings in the training of teachers and the nature of school organisation.

FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS

Main Perspectives of the Teaching-Learning Process

7. Any modification which is to be made in the approaches discussed above in order to create favourable conditions for the implementation of creativity demands a prior examination of multiple variables. The approaches described are the result of a complex set of causes that condition the very nature of the present and future teaching-learning process, which cannot be considered in isolation. The desirable lines of evolution of the teaching-learning process which we think feasible, without a sudden break in the traditions of the system, are the following:

- introduction of a degree of freedom that will allow the school to promote the local adaptation of curriculum development. This may be achieved by means of greater flexibility in the central establishment of syllabuses. (In the 1972/73 school year, the 3rd unified year of the first stage of secondary education took effect on an experimental basis and here some forms of curriculum adaptation at the school level were in fact included);
- definition of educational objectives, consistent with the educational system on the one hand and with each level of that system on the other. The definition of these objectives would be the starting point for the setting up of curricula and syllabuses, the foundation of didactic methodology, the guidelines of the teacher training process and of the forms of pedagogical organisation within the school;
- adoption of organisational schemes for the teaching-learning process that make possible (i) individual observation of each student, by himself and in relation to his environment; (ii) appropriate guidance procedures;
- integration, in the mechanisms of educational guidance and observation, of adequate methods for the evaluation of student achievement or objective control of their learning progress.

Objectives to be Reached through the Process of Innovation

8. The criteria just enumerated might well guide the renewal of the type of teaching-learning relations presently existing in Portugal. But they should be complemented, as has already been mentioned, by a careful reconsideration of several aspects of the whole scheme of institutional, functional and pedagogical reform of education, beginning with a definition of the goals of the innovation process.

The first point to be considered concerns the number and quality of the potential sources that may generate innovation and the possibilities created for the diffusion, evaluation, application or rejection of its results. Presently, there are few sources and possibilities: the potentiality of both appears, therefore, as a goal which should be given priority and it will be briefly analysed later in this paper.

In the second place, after the conditions required for reaching this goal are established, it will be necessary to ensure (i) that the process of innovation will be permanent and (ii) that a climate of controlled experimentation will develop in accordance with the essentially personal imperatives of educational action and with the discovery of alternative arrangements best suited to the evolution of these conditions.

Main and Immediate Factors to be Considered

9. This formulation, though necessarily abstract, may serve as a guide and a framework for the examination of some factors which seem to have a more immediate and particular influence on the generation of creativity in Portuguese schools. It is related to such institutional mechanisms as the administration of education, the position of the school in the social environment, the training and utilisation of teaching staff, research and development in the field of education, and the present role of the inspectorate.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AS CONCERNS THE SELECTED FACTORS

A. Institutional Arrangements

A Centralised System of School Administration

10. As we have already shown, the system of school administration in Portugal, as in other countries with an administrative structure inspired by the Napoleonic tradition, is based on a concentration of power and functions in central departments, situated in the country's capital city and directly dependent, even in matters of current management, upon the Government.

Members of the governmental team responsible for national education may utilise - as in effect they do - the juridical institution of delegation of power, transferring certain kinds of decisions published yearly in the official gazette ("Diaro do Governo") to the top civil servants, who manage the central services at director-general level or corresponding rank. But the use of delegated powers does not contradict the essentially centralised nature that characterises the administration of education in Portugal.

This same centralisation is found in the administration of the various educational levels. All preparatory and secondary schools depend directly, without any intermediate link, from the General Directorates and therefore each of them has to be in touch with several central departments simultaneously(1), receiving orders and instructions from them according to their area of legal responsibility. The same pattern applies also to primary schools, although for these there is a network of bureaucratic departments at the regional level (school Directorates at the district level) and at local level (school Delegations at the council level or at school zones level, in metropolitan areas). These departments are directly subordinate to the "Direccao-Geral do Ensino Basico" (General Directorate for Basic Education) and have very limited powers.

Some other departments of the central administration have regional deputies with special responsibilities. But in spite of the intensive reform at the central level carried out in September 1971, the administrative system still reflects not only the pattern of Portuguese public administration but also the former situation in which educational resources were concentrated on pupils at the primary level and the consequent distribution of schools.

School and Social Life

11. As in other countries, preparatory and secondary schools in Portugal tend to be hierarchical. Thus the administrative structure described above is reflected in the internal organisation of the school in which the role of the Headmaster is paramount.

1) They are each nevertheless directly subordinate to only one General Directorate, respectively the "Direccao-Geral do Ensino Basico" (General Directorate for Basic Education) and the "Direccao-Geral do Ensino Secundario" (General Directorate for Secondary Education).

relative permanence of Headmasters in their positions, a consequence of a variety of circumstances, contributes to the hierarchical characteristics of the school.

Associated with this factor, and reflecting again the influence of institutional mechanisms external to school, we can detect a certain isolation of the school within the broader context of social life. Thus to the isolation and individualism which, as a rule, characterise the work of educational agents as a result of their training and the pattern of school organisation, we can add the segregation of the school itself within its immediate environment.

Thus there are very few parents' associations, and where they exist they have few recognised rights in relation to public educational establishments. And if this isolation exists at the level of organised and systematic relationship with the families of students - an isolation broken only by sporadic and individual contacts - it also appears in the behaviour of each school in relation to the local community and to other schools in the same area.

The Scheme for Stimulating Innovation

12. The Portuguese teacher is traditionally endowed with an "epic" quality which tends to exalt his spirit of sacrifice, the nobility of his mission so often accomplished in adverse circumstances, and the difficulties of his work with the young people. The intention of this exaltation is normally to evoke gratitude or justice. But another purpose is to call attention to what the teacher needs if he is to accomplish his mission.

In this context problems like salary structure (considered in absolute terms and in comparison with that of other civil servants), professional career, and access to permanent education or retraining processes are at present under review, and it is generally expected that improvements in these conditions will bring about improvements in the teachers' performance. Nevertheless these are not the only factors of importance in schemes for the stimulation of innovation.

13. The teacher's professional status is certainly an important factor in the context of innovation. In Portugal, there are different statuses according to the level or branch of education in which he works, whether in primary school, in preparatory school, in classical secondary school or in technical secondary school. The conditions necessary to reach the top professional category at these various levels are defined, after which the salary increases depend on the number of working years, on higher qualifications acquired in the meantime by the teacher, or on merit.(1) The qualifications demanded for the top professional category are those considered necessary for the full practice of teaching.

Although no material compensation is provided for such cases, the teacher is frequently invited, according to the educational level of the centre where he teaches, to put into practice certain innovations established by the central departments of administration, namely those resulting from the approval of new syllabuses or pedagogical methods. To this end, or in order to update teaching methods, each year the central administration launches schemes for improving the professional competences of teachers. The use of educational technology is limited except for television at the preparatory school level.

The Teacher Training Institutions

14. As noted earlier, the initial training of teachers is a contributory factor to the present position of creativity in the school. At present, the existing teacher training

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1) Exception is made in cases when there is an invitation to fulfil specific functions such as the Headmaster of an educational establishment, or the methodology of teacher or assistant lecturer of the probationary training of secondary school teachers.

institutions prepare teachers for primary education,(1) for physical education(2) and for teaching the mentally handicapped.(3) The Arts Faculty provides courses in Pedagogical Sciences, attendance at which is compulsory for some categories of teacher. Towards the end of 1971, within the framework of the science faculties, a university degree in Educational Sciences was created and all the students with a bachelor's degree have access to this.

If the preparatory and secondary school teachers wish to obtain a definite status they have to carry out one year's probationary training and pass the appropriate examination. The number of educational centres where such probationary training could take place was, until the end of 1971, extremely limited; at the same time the number of teachers with incomplete initial training and, therefore, precarious status was very high. In July 1971, the number of schools equipped to provide this probationary training was increased. The year's work is carried out under the supervision of specialised staff and demands among other things the acquisition of both general and specialised teaching skills and a knowledge of school management.(4)

15. This brief description gives the idea of the paucity of institutions existing until recently in Portugal for the initial training of teachers, but it also indicates the present rate of change for the better through recourse to special solutions (for instance probationary training or intensive courses provided in the university to complete the scientific education of working teachers) or through the schemes for further qualification (such as the university degree in Educational Sciences created in the sciences faculties). In view of the fact that administrative structure and school-environment boundaries provide an unfavourable context for change, changes resulting from an integrated system of training (initial, permanent or recurrent) will undoubtedly make an important contribution to the improvement of the teachers' capacity to handle innovation.

R & D in the Field of Innovation

16. But these are not the only institutional factors affecting the creativity of the schools. In fact, the structure and function of the educational system itself needs to be the object of permanent evaluation. This can be achieved through research activities oriented towards a systematic and in-depth study of the educational process, of its nature and of the way in which it should develop within specific social co-ordinates, present and future. Although there have been a good many investigations of an experimental nature, made without the help of sufficient numbers of specialised staff and without an appropriate methodology, particularly in the preparation of new syllabuses, serious applied research and development in the field of education has, to date, been rare and confined to a few institutions only.(5) This in itself reduces the possibilities of broadening the scope of teacher training and does not enable the system to adopt properly evaluated improvements. Similar limitations are observable also in the social fields, which in one way or another have close connections with education. The problem is related to the orientation

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1) The Primary Education Teacher Training Schools, which provide 2-year courses and access to which demands a minimum of 9 years' schooling.

2) The Physical Education Teacher Training Schools and the "Instituto Nacional de Educacao Fisica" (National Institute for Physical Education) which is a short-cycle higher education institution.

3) The "Instituto Aurelio da Costa Ferreira".

4) See "Estagios Pedagogicos" (Pedagogical probationary training), Boletim da Comissao Orientadore, No. 1, 1971/1972.

5) These are the "Centro de Investigacao Pedagogica" (Pedagogical Research Centre) of the Gulbenkian Foundation, the "Gabinete de Estudos Socias" (Social Studies Centre) of the Technical University of Lisbon, and the "Gabinete de Estudos e Planeamento da Accao Educativa" (Bureau of Educational Research and Planning) of the Ministry of Educational Research.

of science policy itself. As recommended by the OECD 4th Conference of the Ministers of Science (Paris, October, 1971), priority should be given to the social sciences in view of their generally slow state of progress in comparison with the other fields of scientific development.

B. The Role of the Inspectorate(1)

The Organic Structure of the Inspectorate

17. Portugal has an inspectorate for private educational establishments and another for public educational establishments. The latter is differentiated according to educational level - primary, preparatory and secondary - and again within secondary education it is different for the classical secondary school and the technical secondary school. Leaving aside the special case of the inspectorate for private teaching, the fundamental problem to be considered here is the relationship between inspectorate activities and the pedagogical responsibilities assigned to the different central departments of the educational administration. In this field we come across different solutions for the different educational levels or degrees. These different solutions may eventually be explained by the fact that the legal provisions regarding the inspectorate were issued at different times and were therefore guided by different notions about its activities. Inspectors are either gathered together, with autonomy (as is the case for preparatory education) or without it, in the General Directorates, or form separate groups whose heads report directly to the Minister of Education. In this latter case, which applies to the inspection of classical secondary schools and private teaching, the relations with the corresponding General Directorate are defined in terms of "collaboration".

18. Inspectorate activities are normally conducted from the capital city, exceptions being the inspection of primary schools (which involves school district directorates and council delegations) and of preparatory education (which is based on geographical areas). The inspectorate for preparatory education was established only recently to cover the area corresponding to the old compulsory post-primary level. This re-constitution makes good some of the deficiencies of the previous system.

The Activities of the Inspectorate

19. One of the greatest problems of the present inspectorate is to strike the right balance between giving guidance, administration and disciplinary supervision. The predominantly repressive nature of control and supervision activities is incompatible with the approach required when guidance is being given. Indeed, the reserve and even mistrust with which the control function is regarded actually impairs the efficacy of pedagogical guidance which, after all, should be the most important activity of the inspectorate.

Nevertheless, it is not always easy for a single individual on the inspectorate staff to fulfil both functions efficiently. It is also relevant that the disciplinary activities, being more strictly regulated, more pressing and yet slower-moving, take more of his time than pedagogical guidance. To overcome these disadvantages, at least at preparatory education level, distinction is made between the two activities and some inspectors have been assigned chiefly to duties of a disciplinary nature.

Additionally, there is a disparity between the functions ascribed to the inspectorate and the number of inspectors actually available to carry them out. This contributes to the

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1) A more detailed description of organisation of school inspection in Portugal can be found in "Notas sobre a situacao da inspeccao do ensino na Metropole" (Notes on the situation of school inspection in metropolitan territory) by SILVEIRA, Luis L., IE/B/72.1, GEPAE, Lisbon, June 1972.

limited development of pedagogical guidance activities, which, with some emphasis, is legally assigned to the inspectors and from which so much could be expected in the way of strengthening the schools' capacity to deal with innovation.

The Career and Recruitment of Inspectors

20. The minimum requirement for entry to the inspector category is to have been a teacher at the relevant educational level. Only in relation to the guidance functions do inspectors of primary education need to have previously attended special courses. Appointment of inspectors is generally by ministerial choice. This system is detrimental to the creation of a career structure in the service because it does not allow for any legitimate and reliable expectations of promotion to the teachers most qualified for the position of inspector.

Normally inspectors remain in their appointments for periods of three years, which may be renewed indefinitely. This system has the disadvantage of insecurity because, if the three years' tenure is not renewed, the inspector returns to his former position of teacher. Such insecurity may adversely affect the independence necessary for carrying out the inspector's job. On the other hand, the system in force has consequences which do not correspond with the purpose for which it was established. Thus, most of the inspectors remain in their appointments for successive periods and in this way their situation becomes permanent in as much as the remuneration for the inspection functions consists of a monthly gratuity added to the teacher's salary. However, this gratuity will only be paid in full if the inspectors perform a minimum of 15 days' external service each month.

In many respects, this system will undergo major changes as a result of the reform of the central structures of the Portuguese Ministry of Education which took effect in September 1971.

FUTURE ARRANGEMENTS AS THEY CONCERN THE SELECTED FACTORS

A. The New Structures

The Administration of Education

21. It will not be easy to initiate, nor even to contemplate with a minimum degree of reality, a system of administration of education in Portugal radically different from the one that is presently in force. It is however possible to make the existing pattern work, within the respective legal framework but in a rather different manner, if its full potentiality is explored to its very limits or its most promising lines are developed to their full extent.

In fact, bearing in mind contemporary trends in public administration based on a strong executive power, we find that the adaptation of that principle to the Portuguese case has been characterised by a certain opening of boundaries between the political and the executive and between the administrative and the executive. However, there seem to be traditional and sociological factors that militate against the possibility of a radical separation between the two types of executive power or the adoption of a high degree of functional and territorial autonomy, as in the case, for instance, in some Anglo-Saxon countries.

This being so, some possible ways of improving the administration of education seem to be: re-shaping its central structures in accordance with the principles of horizontal functioning;(1) the progressive withdrawal of the overload of current management matters

1) Recent examples of this kind of change are the reforms carried out in the French and Spanish Ministries of Education and later in the Portuguese Ministry of National Education.

that presently encumbers the work of the governmental team for national education; and finally the territorial decentralisation of power with regard to specific issues to the regional level. On the other hand, and as a guideline for administrative action, it is important that there should be a distinct improvement in communication between the centre and the local and regional school authorities and, even, communities at large. Keeping the latter informed is necessary so that the improvement in schools may be assisted by participation from outside their walls.

22. As mentioned earlier, the reform of September 1971 in the central structure of the Portuguese Ministry of National Education tried to take these criteria into account or at least to open ways that might make possible an evolution in that direction.

The law, by replacing a purely vertical structure with a horizontal organisation of services, has introduced a change of a limited nature; but it stresses the fact that it had been possible "to take a major step forward by separating the scientific, pedagogical and disciplinary problems of education - which have been handed over to the general-directorates of education - from the technical aspects of staff, installations and equipment and administrative and financial management, which are to be dealt with by a general-directorate of school administration".(1)

On the other hand, the same law admits that "education cannot fail to keep pace with the efforts that are being made to regionalise the territory of Portugal in Europe. Apart from the administrative advantages and improvement of management arising from rational geographical decentralisation, educational work should fully share in regional development through responsible, appropriate bodies".(2) To attain such a goal the same law states "that as regards the organisation and functions of the educational system, Portugal will be divided into areas based on educational needs", and that in each of these areas "organs and external departments of the various general-directorates necessary will be set up as needs indicate".(3)

23. Thus the administrative regionalisation of Portuguese education will be a long process as, in a sense, it goes against tradition. Nevertheless, a great deal is expected from the role to be played by the regional administrative structures in their communication with the schools and local communities and in their articulation with the institutions of teacher training and with the schemes of pedagogical inspection and guidance.

Teacher Training

24. Within the framework of the new plan for Portuguese education published in January 1971 the future of teacher training raises some points for discussion. For instance, primary and pre-primary teacher training in the new proposals relate to the level of the last stage of secondary education, although in the meantime there has been a growing hope that the respective courses will be of three years(4) instead of two, as they are at present, and that the number of school years necessary for access to those courses in future will be 10 instead of 9. It is maintained, however, and this is acceptable as a principle, that those courses should be raised to the post-secondary level as "a better solution to secure qualifications for the new type of teachers required to reorganise and modernise the corresponding schools".

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1) See "Lei Organica do Ministerio da Educacao Nacional" (Organic Law of the Ministry of National Education). Lisbon, Impresa Nacional, 1971, pag. 15.

2) Ibid., page 12.

3) Ibid., pages 20 and 21.

4) "Sugestoes para una reforma das escolas do magisterio" (Suggestions for the reform of teacher training schools), IE/A/72.1, GEPAE, June 1972.

Practical reasons and the need for a great number of teachers(1) for the next 4 years within compulsory education (which will be of 8 years as from 1974/1975) may have contributed to postponement of the decision to provide post-secondary training at this level; but the difficulties could be solved, perhaps more realistically, by the adoption of a new status for basic and secondary education teachers. If the latter were paid on the basis of academic and professional qualifications, and not on the level of the school where they teach, as happens at present, the primary teachers might be stimulated to obtain higher qualifications which would command better salaries without their having to stop working at their present level of education. In this way it would be possible progressively to refresh the primary teaching staff.

25. This proposal is of the greatest importance because it would have far-reaching consequences. All basic and secondary educational agents would be encouraged thereby to obtain degrees or academic qualifications or to devote themselves to more rewarding research and development work. A teaching career outlined according to this pattern might eventually become a powerful instrument for developing the capacity of the teachers themselves to deal with creativity and innovation, despite the practical difficulties of its implementation.(2)

The principal institutions for teacher training provided for in the projected Portuguese educational system are the Higher Teacher Training Colleges. Their purpose will be to "train students to be teachers in the first stage of secondary schools",(3) which, according to the proposals under consideration, will correspond to the 4 years of post-primary compulsory education, and will have, just as universities, the power to confer the bachelor's degree. The Higher Teacher Training Colleges will most probably be the future teacher training schools for all the basic education teaching staff and may thus have an important role in the framework of regional educational activities.

26. There are many ideas(4) about the role to be played by these Higher Teacher Training Colleges. Besides being oriented towards the initial training of teachers, they are also expected to implement the results of applied research and development, to co-operate in the retraining and permanent education of teachers, to co-operate in the pedagogical guidance of the schools in their own geographical areas, to be receptive to the local educational and cultural necessities and finally to assist the regional bodies in the administration of education. It has even been stated that these departments "together with the pedagogical complexes formed by the various Higher Teacher Training Colleges may, in future, be the leading centres, facilitating the adoption of a new, decentralised and more humane Portuguese educational system".(5) In this way they would assume a fundamental importance in Portuguese educational development in the present decade.

Meanwhile, in each university, Institutes of Education will be set up, where those who have already obtained a bachelor's degree in university or non-university courses may

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1) At present compulsory education in Portugal is of 6 years. See "Provisao do Pessoal docente para o sistema escolar portugues" (Estimates of teaching staff for the Portuguese school system), IV P.F. 9. GEPEA, May 1972.

2) See "Matrizes do pessoal docente dos ensinos basico e secundario" (Matrices of basic and secondary teaching staff), ER/C/72.1, GEPAE, September, 1972.

3) See "Projecto do sistema escolar" (Projected educational system) Lisbon, Ministry of National Education, January 1971, page 11.

4) See "Sugestoes para um projecto de criacao das Escolas Normais Superiores" (Suggestions for a project concerning the establishment of Higher Teacher Training Colleges), IE/A/72.2, GEPAE, July 1972.

5) See "O IV Plano de Fomento (1974/79): principais objectivos da politica de valorizacao dos recursos humanos" (The IV Development Plan (1974/79): its main purposes to perform the revaluation of human resources policy), IV P.F.1., GEPAE, November 1971, page 30.

obtain a higher degree which will entitle them to teach their subjects in secondary schools without any further training. These Institutes of Education will work closely with the National Institute of Pedagogy which is also to be set up and will probably be a centre for research in the educational sciences.

27. The Higher Teacher Training Colleges as well as the Institutes of Education will thus be that part of the structure of higher education conceived as being "an interrelated system of institutions which, while pursuing very different and specific aims will, however, adjust to one another through appropriate functional relationships".(1)

The existence of efficient structures for the initial training of teachers will be no means be sufficient to guarantee the type of teacher required by a "creative" conception of education. Just as important, surely, will be the mechanisms of retraining, guidance and permanent assistance, as well as an adequate policy for employing those teachers in a career of a new pattern. It will also be necessary that the whole scheme whenever possible should have a markedly regional character. This would be achieved through the progressive dissemination of Higher Teacher Training Colleges and more local centres of assistance for teachers.

The Development of Research

28. It is hoped that in time a new process of Research and Development in the field of education will develop. On account of their university location, the Institutes of Education together with the National Institute of Pedagogy will naturally form privileged centres of fundamental and applied research and thus help to strengthen the innovation-generating sources. Five of them will be set up on an experimental basis during the 1972-73 school year.

But the main problem is not the number and quality of research centres. Research should be a preoccupation running generally through the whole educational system. Classical problems of science policy, like the existence of a "critical mass" in research teams, the selection of subjects and projects that should be given priority according to observed needs, participation in a climate of confrontation, dialogue and international exchanges in this field, seem to be some of the indispensable conditions if these R & D activities in the field of education are to be productive. It is equally important to give effective distribution to the research results and to ensure that the research and development activities of the Higher Teacher Training Colleges make a lasting impression on the teachers trained and assisted by them.

Finally, we must not lose sight of the fact that R & D in the field of education should be a part of a broader social sciences research programme that can be expected to provide much fundamental data of relevance to the strictly educational research.

B. A Possible Pattern for the Inspectorate within the New Structure

29. From what has been said already, it will not be difficult to imagine what shape the inspectorate should take in relation to the new structures of education and of teacher training.

As far as its organic structure is concerned, the new central organisation of the Ministry of National Education requires that the functions of inspection and pedagogical guidance of public schools be incorporated in the General Directorates responsible for those schools; as to the private schools, these functions will be carried out by the same departments but in collaboration with the General Inspectorate of Private Education, which

1) See "Linhas gerais da reforma do Ensino Superior" (Guidelines of the reform of higher education), Ministry of National Education, January 1971, page 6.

continues to have autonomy and some, although fewer, specific functions. However, the way in which the inspectors will carry out their functions within the framework of each General Directorate is still to be defined. In this connection it should be stressed that if such incorporation "may be helpful to secure the desired unity of action in each of those departments, through the interrelation between the executive and management tasks and those of inspection and supervision", it may, on the other hand, "hinder the indispensable independence of the inspection services which will not easily tend to discuss the faults of the administration to which they belong".

30. There are two ways in which this difficulty may be circumvented. First, in the reform of the Ministry of Education a body of inspectors in the National Board of Education was set up with responsibilities for, inter alia, "far-reaching and delicate functions". This body could act, if necessary, as a court of second instance for inspectorate affairs. The second way is for the inspection services of the General Directorates to create new departments with their own authority and structure.

Finally, a third solution could be found for the difficulty if, besides putting a greater stress on their functions of pedagogical guidance, some inspectors were directly attached to the regional departments of the administration of education and worked in collaboration with the teacher training centres, that is the new Higher Teacher Training Colleges.

As to the duties of the inspectorate, it is important to note that the function of administrative and financial supervision was, by the above-mentioned reform, entrusted to a new General Directorate of School Administration. This gave the inspectors some relief from activities for which they had not been fully prepared. But when the educational General Directorates were given the functions of pedagogical guidance and inspection as well as of disciplinary action, it was not made clear whether "these functions will continue as a responsibility of the inspection services". If they will, it might be appropriate to allocate the functions of guidance and those of a disciplinary nature to different individuals.

31. Lastly, with regard to the recruitment of inspectors and their career, it is necessary to dignify the profession and to train its members, particularly in the pedagogical field, in order to ensure an appropriate relationship between the inspectors and the teachers. This would not only render the inspector's career more attractive, but it would qualify those who wish to leave it for a career in teaching.

This might eventually open the way for a more efficient guidance-inspector career. He would be entrusted with greater powers for pedagogical intervention, making it possible for him to become an effective agent for the dissemination of innovative projects. It would connect him more directly with the regional life and administration and with the teacher training institutions, without, however, hampering his independence, and it would progressively relieve him of disciplinary functions. The replacement of the supervisor-inspector by the guidance-inspector may not exclude the existence of disciplinary and administrative and financial supervisors, but it would certainly help to reshape the personality of the inspector, making him an important factor of evaluation, control and stimulation of the educational process in each school.

And taken together with the other measures suggested, by this means too it would be possible to advance gradually towards the flexible functioning of the articulated network of structures and agents, which are the fundamental factors of creativity in the Portuguese schools.

IX. INSTRUMENTS FOR THE PROMOTION OF CREATIVITY IN SCHOOLS IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

by

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1. The purpose of this paper is to survey the instruments and methods of educational planning available in the Federal Republic of Germany for the promotion and stimulation of "creativity" within the school.

The basic structures of responsibility in the school system are set by two factors:

- The federalistic system. Responsibility for the school system lies with the individual states (eleven Länder); they regulate standards, organisation, curricula etc. The teachers are civil servants of the Land. The communities bear part of the cost of building and non-teaching staff, the proportion of state aid differing as between the Länder.
- The state school system. Schools are, as a rule, public institutions, with teacher qualification-requirements, subjects to be taught, examinations and qualifications, maximum cost of equipment, number of pupils per form and such like being subject to uniform state regulations. Additionally there are some private schools and most of these conform to the same regulations with respect to official approval and state aid. "Model Schools" and "Experimental Groups" increasingly deviate from the standards set, state approval being given in each individual case. On the pedagogical side, however, the individual teacher has considerable freedom of choice in matters of curriculum, materials, methods and assessment provided this is exercised within the statutory "subject matter guidelines" and the set number of periods per subject.

2. In the field of educational planning and research (understood to include innovation experiments and evaluation), the Länder may call for co-operation and support from the Federal Government (Bund).

In addition to the Länder administrations and the various planning agencies or instruments set up to further the purpose of any individual Land, there are various bodies for planning and co-ordination on the national scale, namely:

- The "Deutscher Bildungsrat" (Education Council, BR), an independent national advisory body for Bund and Länder;
- The "Ständige Konferenz der Kultusminister der Länder" (Permanent Conference of the Land Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs; KMK), the main instrument for ensuring national coherence through inter-Länder co-ordination;
- The "Bund-Länder-Kommission für Bildungsplanung" (Bund-Länder Commission for Educational Planning; BLK), a body combining the ministers responsible for matters of education at both levels. This was set up in 1970 to intensify co-ordinated educational reform, its main assignment being to draft a development plan for

education up to 1985 (including cost and financing) for presentation to the heads of governments (Federal Chancellor and 11 Prime Ministers) for approval.

Infrastructure for Innovation and Creativity

3. The following may give some indication of the main functions of these bodies as they concern the "creativity of the school":

a) The BR gathers top level independent expertise on education - which is bound to include educational policy thinking - and presents it in the form of recommendations on overall structural and organisational development. In years past these recommendations have proved to be the main starting point for reform programmes and projects. At present the issues of "democratisation" (in the sense of participation of different groups in decision-making) and "creativity in the learning process" are at the centre of the BR's deliberations.

b) The BLK tries to assess these proposals, together with possible alternatives, from the point of view of administrative and policy responsibility, feasibility and financing, and translates what has been accepted into measures, quantities, and time-tables. It seems that the BR advisers favour the idea of basing reform strongly on the teachers and the individual school, whereas the planning and administration experts of the ministries in the BLK and its committees are more inclined to give central administration the larger share of initiative.

c) Co-ordination of administrative measures concerning school organisation, curricula, examination requirements etc. is mainly carried out in the KMK. The individual Länder have increasingly set up experiments and curriculum development projects, being stimulated by general public demand for reform, BR recommendations and the new discussion of reform programmes in the BLK with the added attraction of financial support from the Bund. Some Länder have recently put forward draft bills that are intended to ensure greater participation of community, parents, pupils and teachers in educational policy.

d) Additionally, there is considerable activity by some community councils and administrations in the field of innovation experiments.

e) Several years ago the initiative of individuals or groups of citizens led to the establishment of special experimental schools; in the meantime such initiatives focus their activities rather on particular issues of the general system (e.g. "smaller classes for the smallest pupils!").

4. Generally speaking, it seems that the "creativity" issue today is being pursued by the "professionals" - planners, scientists, teachers, administrators - rather than by the public. It is viewed within the context of general aims of reform, such as: secondary education for all; co-ordination and combination of the so-called "general" and "vocational" curricula in upper secondary and vocational education; expansion and improvement of pre-school education; how to achieve reform of structures and curricula; What is the role of scientific research institutes?; How are the programmes and projects to be organised and administered - centrally from the administration, or with a great deal of local autonomy?

These problems and questions are reflected in the work of the BLK Committee for Innovation and its activity in the promotion and co-ordination of innovation experiments. These experiments cover the full range of reform issues, from pre-school education and integration of the handicapped to courses leading to a combined vocational and university entrance qualification, from socialisation questions to new methods of achievement control or the use of educational technology in self-study programmes. In the design and the

execution of the projects, scientists, teachers, planners, government and community administrators are involved. Whereas activities that were understood to carry the threat of jeopardising Länder autonomy (such as the establishment of a national institute to co-ordinate and administer curriculum development) failed on the grounds of the constitutional policy issues involved, the programme for innovation experiments has expanded considerably and has contributed to increasing as well as structuring innovation activities.

Educational Experiments and Innovation

5. The basic structure of the experimental system is as follows:

In May 1971 Bund and Länder signed an agreement on the joint financing and co-ordination of educational experiments. The BLK charged its Innovation Committee (IC) with working out the details, reviewing the projects submitted for support by the authorities (i.e. in most cases one of the Länder) and making a recommendation as to federal support which, as a rule, amounts to 50 per cent of the special cost ("innovative plus") of the experiment or model. In the IC, the Bund has 11 votes, each of the 11 Länder has one. In matters of individual project applications, however, the final vote is usually unanimous. Formally, the decision of the IC is not binding for the Bund, but de facto the Federal Ministry for Education and Science has always accepted the decisions, for it carries the Bund votes, has the funds for the purpose in its budget, participates in the discussions and voting procedure and in many cases has by indication of interest stimulated certain of the project applications. As of next year it is expected that review of the applications on the Bund side from the point of view of budgetary regulations will be completed before discussion in the IC, so that approval there - which can only come about with the 11 Bund votes - will also be formally binding in principle as well as in amount.

6. A special Working Group for Innovation Models (WG-IM) was set up by the IC to pre-screen the applications and, more important, to define certain areas or issues of special interest for experiments. The main basis for that definition was furnished by the so-called "Interim Report on the Development Plan for Education" of the BLK. This report contains the basic structural aims (together with the ensuing quantifications and financial demands until 1985) on which agreement had been reached, e.g. expansion of pre-school education for the five-year-old; secondary education ("scientifically oriented basic education") for all members of the 10 - 15 age group; closer co-ordination and interlinking between the so-far separate systems of general and vocational education for the 16 - 18/19 age group in organisation and curricula. Many questions of operationalising these aims, and also some basic issues, however, were left open - for example, "pre-school for the 5-year-old" as part of Kindergarten or as first year of a new, two-year "introductory stage" of primary school? "Secondary education for all" for the 10 - 15 age group in comprehensive schools or through a set of changes within the three-tier system?. Model experiments, then, were to serve further clarification. Some of the issues to which answers are sought in such experiments are:

- Kindergarten versus 2-year "introductory stage" at primary school for 5- and 6-year-olds;
- comprehensive schools for the 10 - 16 age group;
- various types of "comprehensive junior college" for the 16 - 18/19 age group (general cum-vocational);
- integration of the handicapped into general schools;
- reform of vocational education and training by restructuring organisation and curricula (basic training for a larger "vocational field" first, followed by increasing specialisation).

7. These examples show an interest in organisational concepts or general principles rather than concrete problems of curricula or content. In a federal system they must, of course, leave room for different kinds of implementation because the basic responsibility for education rests with the individual Länder. What complicates things further is differences of opinion and interest in educational policy between the Bund and the Länder and, in other cases, differences between the policy views of governments supported by the social democratic and the liberal democratic parties (Bund and six Länder) on the one hand and those of governments supported by the Christian Democratic party (five Länder) on the other. Nevertheless, co-operation and discussion of project areas and individual projects have led to a large area of common ground including basic criteria for technical details, questions of content and priorities among the experts who - as members of their respective ministries where they are in charge of the execution themselves - sit on the working group and in the committee. As a rule, they all have a firm background of personal experience in teaching as well as planning and administration.

8. Each experiment is to be accompanied by an evaluation project, preferably to be carried out by scientists and teachers in co-operation. Assessment of these projects for the IC was at first assigned to a special working group that consisted mainly of educational scientists nominated by the ministries. Practical questions of co-ordination as well as, probably, basic differences of outlook between the "scientific interest" and the "educational policy and innovation interest" led to a change, and now evaluation projects are discussed by the first working group as well, together with the experimental project that is to be evaluated, scientific expertise being called in on an ad hoc basis. It should be kept in mind, however, that this is a procedure of reviewing projects for the purpose of recommending them for federal support. Before the project - experiment or evaluation - comes up for review, it is worked out on the Land level, all Länder having already developed a system to ensure scientific expertise in working out and executing experimental and evaluation projects.

The latent conflict - typical of all policy planning processes within parliamentary systems - between experts and administrators on the one hand and representatives of parliamentary responsibility on the other, has led in some Länder to the situation that federal co-financing for each individual project must be approved by the Prime Minister's office and/or a parliamentary committee.

Experimental Groups, instead of Individual Pilot Schools

9. The authority of the Länder in educational matters is thus acknowledged and maintained. On the other hand, there is a general interest - shared by the governments as well as educational reformers such as those gathered in the "Deutscher Bildungsrat" (National Advisory Council on Education; BR) - in ensuring overall reform on the basis of nation-wide comparable experiments. The BR-proposals for a large series of experiments with comprehensive schools and with full-day schools (at least 40 each) foresaw somewhat autonomous individual institutions operating within a rather wide and flexible framework of regulations for organisation and curricula. The schools that were started under the programme in 1968/69 have in fact maintained a good deal of this philosphy and self-interpretation. As a matter of fact, it is more compatible than often thought with the alleged "authoritarian" structure of the traditional German school system, since the so-called "framework regulations" for curricula are so vague as to leave the school or rather the teacher, a wide field for individual implementation; furthermore, the traditional public administration staff limited itself to the more formal aspects of supervision.

10. The hopes that these isolated, rather autonomous schools would develop into master patterns for copy were unfulfilled, however, and the same goes for the hopes that new institutes would soon provide the material for a thorough reform of curricula. Tremendous energy was invested in the production of smaller curriculum units, but development was largely isolated, often without full knowledge of recent developments in learning psychology and curriculum research. In some cases, the "pilot" aspect of the model schools made them focal points of social policy issues and thus the object of general political controversy or of conflict between administration and teachers. Successful developments and experiences remained without influence beyond the individual institution, since there was no developed system for dissemination. Whereas these schools aimed at a complete structural reform (mainly comprehensive education), another set of experiments was started by some Länder to try out certain individual aspects of reform in a group of existing institutions, without a complete change of structure and content (e.g. the Mainz model for upper secondary general education). From the Hessen experience in curriculum development it seems that one way to assure regional co-operation in curriculum development - rather than "grass-root" work at each experimental school - is not to make funds for that purpose available to the individual school but to regional groups.

11. The main point of the above remarks is that, on the basis of these experiences, the Länder administrations tend increasingly to move away from the individual pilot school concept to that of a regionally co-ordinated "experimental group". It is hoped that this will allow for a more economic strategy of financing and for a quicker dissemination of innovation through the system as a whole. Special attention is given to ensuring a greater participation of teachers, students and parents in this scheme.

12. The regional systems that are now developing differ in a number of details, and some of these differences may again be due to the interplay of interests and educational policy principles of the social groups concerned and of government and administration. It is difficult to say, in any case, which system would be best to yield more "creativity of the school" in a complex interplay between political climate, administration, community, teachers, pupils, parents and scientists. The Federal Republic seems to be at present at a stage where two basic lines of thought and experience in other countries are important factors: first, the Swedish idea of innovation in blocks or comprehensive units, under a strong centralised administration and with curriculum development organised in stages (frame set by policy authorities; detailed curricular guidelines worked out by school administration, scientists, and teachers; material worked out by publishers). Secondly, experience from the United States that complete "package" curricula "handed down" to the teacher, be they ever so good, will be ineffective with regard to innovation and motivation.

Emphasis on Regional Structures

13. In the Federal Republic, any kind of innovation centre independent of the administration would be unlikely to succeed. The real question then, is how "block development" and curriculum construction should be set in the network of responsibilities and interests. The following are some of the operating procedures employed at present:

- the regional system is run and co-ordinated by the administration through a special institute that is integrated into the administration (Bayern, Centre for Educational Research, under Education Ministry);
- control of the regional system is by elected representatives of the participating teaching staff (new BR draft proposal for large-scale model kindergarten and pre-school education programme);

- administration co-ordinates and operates the system through appointed development groups of teachers (with a smaller nucleus in charge of each group), without an interim agent such as a dependent research institute (Hessen, comprehensive schools);
- administration staff gives general guidance and initiative, teachers participating in experiments have a certain share in development and control (Nordrhein-Westfalen, new co-operation model for comprehensive school development);
- administration gives schools participating a wide remit of autonomy in the development and choice of curricula in a first phase, hoping in a second phase to ensure selection and transfer of results through a system for centralised evaluation and dissemination (Baden-Württemberg "pilot" schools; Niedersachsen at present, though about to be revised);
- administration appoints mixed groups of scientists and teachers for curriculum development; these curricula are then adopted and integrated in the schools through "self-experience teams" of teachers (Hessen).

14. In some Länder these procedures are used in different combinations. The following, however, may be said to apply to all the systems at present in use in the Federal Republic.

- One no longer expects complete, comprehensive curricula developed by research institutes as a short- or even medium-term solution. This seems to correspond with the international fate of the idea of the teacher-proof curriculum and to favour a system of "aids for choice and individual structuring" - the sciences being a possible exception.

- Independent of, but in parallel with, the regional development projects, the issue of new structures for participation in the individual school is gaining importance. For several years there has been a general trend towards greater contact and co-operation between teachers, parents and pupils - not only in general school life, but in teaching subject-matter also. In several Länder the staff of the school have received considerable rights and powers in relation to the Director, who is the traditional administrative head and supervisor (all teachers are, as a rule, civil servants). In some cases of model schools the experiment includes replacing the Director by a team, though only in two instances has the personal responsibility of a Director been absorbed into the full collective responsibility of a team. One Land, Niedersachsen, has specifically authorised model schools to work out a constitution of their own, which may allow for greater co-determination of the staff and even replace the Director, traditionally appointed for life, by a Head elected for a limited tenure only. In three Länder, draft bills are being discussed in parliament which foresee a role for parents and pupils as well as for teachers in determining the school's policy. It must be said, though, that larger co-responsibility of pupils has not resulted so far in markedly more intensive participation by the pupils. Some critics attribute this to a lack of substance for co-determination, particularly with regard to the school budget, which is laid down annually, in great detail and with correspondingly little flexibility, by the state or community administration. The reasons seem to be more complex, however.

- All regional systems are in one way or another linked with the central planning (and administrative) authority of the Land. Local school administration, on the other hand, is not always brought into the system with the same consistency.

- Particular emphasis is laid upon the intensification of further training for teachers. The main system used at present is the traditional one of special several-day courses.

- For the special issue of innovation, curriculum development and structural changes, it has become general practice to appoint special "moderators". These have no formal

function in further training, but they organise the flow of information and documentation, and they often hold key positions in regional groups for curriculum development.

- In the regional systems, both framework-curriculua and units worked out in detail are being developed and tried out, usually by mixed groups of scientists and teachers at model schools.

- Everywhere an urgent need is felt for a system of documentation and information within each Land as well as at national level. However, steps to translate this need into reality have so far been quite modest.

- The relationship between regional systems and scientific institutes is as yet uncertain. Where these institutes are part of or directly dependent on the administration, they are usually charged with evaluation. In one case, a special project group has been set up at a university which also develops the foundations for curricula. In general, however, the main link that ensures the application of recent research results in experimental projects is provided by the scientists' and the younger teachers' (who have just finished their university training) co-operation on the projects.

15. The general tendencies may thus be summarised as follows:

Emphasis is changing to regional projects. They are operated by regional development groups, usually composed of teachers and scientists - sometimes under the control of representatives of the administration or of members of a research institute within the administrative structure, rarely under the determining influence of the teachers themselves. The system calls for regional documentation and information services that are only just beginning to develop. It further calls for more open forms of school organisation with a greater share of co-responsibility for the teachers, in certain cases also for pupils and parents. It calls, finally, for the systematic introduction of the teachers to innovation through further education - in practice mostly through short-term special courses, in some cases also through "self-experience teams".

The management structure of regional teams thus ranges from a rather rigid control by the administrative planning authority to a high degree of autonomy for the individual group. From experience available it is difficult to say whether the one or the other is more likely to succeed. Success appears to depend as much on the setting of the group within the whole interplay of educational policy interests. Experience seems to indicate that innovation via administrative control can efficiently be brought about where teachers and policy makers agree on the policy principle that innovations aim at improvements within the basic structure of the existing educational system. Where the policy aim is to challenge those basic structures as such and to find new ways and goals, a system combining administrative initiative and responsibility with a wider remit for responsibility of the project groups themselves seems to have better chances.

X. CREATIVITY OF THE SCHOOL: A STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT'S LEADERSHIP

by

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1. This paper will describe the experiences of a State department of education in attempting to create a climate of acceptance for innovation. Its content deals with educational management at a level relatively remote from the student. In my judgement the process of administration of public education must be creative at all levels of a democratic State. If the administrative process maximises the involvement of persons who have a direct interest in the outcome of a decision then it can fairly be termed creative. Creative administration which utilizes the pragmatic impulses of a constituency encourages innovation by modifying fears usually associated with change. This paper is concerned with some examples of this process.

2. In the United States, management of public education is the responsibility of State government; in most States, this authority flows to local school districts. The theory behind delegating this control is that local district boards are responsive to the concerns of the parents and residents served by the school district. In New Jersey local control of school districts is as strong as in any other State. While the State Department of Education is primarily charged with the overall responsibility to ensure that schools are managed in accordance with State statutes and the rules and regulations of the State Board of Education, the present Commissioner of Education, Dr. Carl L. Marburger, has actively used his office to encourage innovation and creativity in local school problem-solving.

Local boards of education make the fundamental staffing and budgetary decisions necessary to manage schools. Locally raised taxes substantially support a community's schools, whose budgets are 78 per cent financed by local tax dollars. In New Jersey, where school financing relies heavily on property revenues, many local district taxpayers express their resentment at spiralling school costs by regularly voting against school budgets and educational issues.

In the words of Colorado's Commissioner of Education:

> What the people are telling us basically is that they want some proof from the educational system that it is doing what it is supposed to do. They want to see a relationship between the money they put in, the time their children put in, the expertise that the educators put in, and the human beings that result.(1)

The Project "Our Schools"

3. In an effort to respond to the public's demand for accountability in establishing goals and setting priorities through an open, co-operative public process, the Commissioner

1) Donald D. Woodington, "Accountability from the Viewpoint of a State Commissioner of Education", Phi Delta Kappa, vol. LIV, No. 2 (October 1972), pp. 95-97.

of Education asked the State Board of Education to initiate a massive programme of community involvement in educational decision making. Known as "Our Schools", this project sought to stimulate discussion of educational goals among all segments of New Jersey's citizenry. The idea that emerged from State-wide, regional and local conferences and meetings resulted in the establishment of "process" and "outcome" goals for education in the State of New Jersey. A major product of the "Our Schools" project was a replicable system for achieving community involvement which could be used by local districts as they in turn developed local educational goals. The Department of Education is currently working on performance criteria which will eventually ensure that the work of the Department is directly responsible to the goals developed by the "Our Schools" project and adopted by the State Board.

Educational Assessment and School Improvement Programme

3. Results of a public opinion survey conducted as part of the "Our Schools" project indicated that the overwhelming concern of New Jersey citizens was with the school's ability to teach basic cognitive skills in obtaining information, solving problems, thinking critically, and communicating effectively.

4. Another major concern of the public and the legislators was with the assessment of educational programmes. In the United States the standard pattern of school assessment or evaluation rests upon certain rarely-tested assumptions. A major challenge to these assumptions appeared in the 1966 Coleman Report, in which exhaustive research was unable to demonstrate any statistically significant relationship between standard quality indicators and the success of a learner.(1) Although this report has never formed the basis of serious study by the professional educational establishment, its thesis has been supported in a new study by Christopher Jencks, which maintains that schools have few long-term effects on the later "success" of those who attend them.(2)

This study is especially damaging to proponents of increased educational expenditure because it characterises the American school as having only a marginal impact upon raising an individual's socio-economic status. The public asks somewhat simplistically: "Why don't we test the skills of the students to determine the adequacy of the programme?" The profession has generally replied defensively, without further explanation, that the problem is much too difficult to be analysed on the basis of testing. Yet the American school is constantly using test data in a somewhat secretive fashion to make fundamental decisions affecting the lives of young people. For example, the Scholastic Aptitude Test, now taken by the majority of teenagers, has become the equivalent of the famous British 11-plus examination. The New Jersey Commissioner of Education believes that the only information that should be denied the public is that information which will do harm to innocent individuals. Certainly mean test data regarding the level of performance of various school districts can be intelligently interpreted to the citizens of one of the world's most highly developed societies. Consequently, New Jersey has embarked on an educational assessment programme which will eventually employ sophisticated psychometric techniques available to measure the progress of the State's educational programme.

1) James S. Coleman, et. al., Equality of Educational Opportunity, two volumes, Washington, D.C., Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966.

2) Christopher Jencks, et. al., Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America, New York, Basic Books, Inc., 1972.

The first phase of this effort will be the testing of all of the fourth and twelfth grade students in the State's public schools, to measure their competence in reading and mathematic skills offered as part of the school systems' instructional programme. E.L. Thorndike's lament, "It is the vice or misfortune of thinkers about education to have chosen the methods of philosophy or of popular thought instead of those of science,"(1) is as valid in 1972 as it was in 1924. There is a pervasive fear on the part of the State's teachers that public knowledge of test scores will result in loss of professional status by individual teachers. The scoring system developed in New Jersey's educational assessment programme was developed in recognition of this often well-founded fear that traditional norm-referenced scores would be used to judge the effectiveness of individual teachers. More important even than the initial testing will be the large-scale information campaign directed to both professionals and non-professionals and designed to raise the level of general knowledge regarding the proper use of testing in educational assessment.

5. The major goal of the programme will be to locate school programmes operating within similar socio-economic situations that demonstrate significant accomplishment. To achieve this, each school district in the State will be categorised and rated on correlates of achievement. These correlates of achievement reflect socio-economic conditions within the school district and are based on the hypothesis that social class affects educational progress.

In an effort to allay the fears of teachers and parents that students might not be tested on material covered in their schools' curricula the Department undertook a massive programme of teacher involvement in the preparation of the test items. To ascertain the content of the State's math and reading programmes the Department of Education divided the State into its 21 counties and directly involved 9,000 teachers considered by their local administrators to most adequately reflect a knowledge of the subject matter taught in their respective school districts. (However, the administrative selection of the teachers impugned the integrity of this process in the eyes of the leadership of the teachers' association). These teachers reviewed a test item bank developed by Educational Testing Service to determine the appropriateness of each item to each district's curriculum in the judgement of the individual teacher.

The testing took place on 14th November, 1972 under the direction of State trained test co-ordinators who are faculty members at the schools being tested. We are now at the data gathering stage of an assessment programme that must remain under the public's control if it is to have educational value. The difficulty of maintaining public control of testing information without political misuse cannot be minimised, but we believe in the importance of assessment data in sound educational planning for resource allocation in education.

6. Another important aspect of the State's responsibility in creative school management is programme assessment. The New Jersey Department of Education has direct statutory responsibility for secondary school approval. It is assumed that a trained visiting team can identify indicators of quality during approval visits. It is standard approval procedure in the United States to co-ordinate approval visits with the completion of a self analysis document by the staff of the school to be visited. While this practice has proved itself over the years, its major defect is its unevenness largely due to the great variation in background and training of members of the visitation team. The Department of Education is attempting to develop new instruments, or to utilize those which exist, in order to maximise consistency in evaluating the teaching-learning situation. The

1) Edward L. Thorndike, Educational Psychology, New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1924, p. 164.

Department is relying heavily on the techniques of empirical science such as those employed by sociologists and anthropologists in working towards the completion of this task. A study in progress of an urban area serving a minority constituency is being undertaken by a professional staff from the Department utilizing Raths' indicators of a positive teaching-learning situation.(1) During the course of this study, the impressions of the teaching performance of 90 per cent of the district's teachers will be computer analysed to develop a profile of teaching in East Orange, New Jersey. It is hoped that this profile will form the basis for teacher in-service training and recruitment in the future.

Teacher Certification Appeal Procedure

7. While the Commissioner's efforts to innovate have been generally supported by the Governor, the school superintendents and the various professional associations' executive leadership (who marginally reflect the opinions of their membership), these efforts have been systematically rejected and opposed by the leadership of the New Jersey Educational Association, which claims to represent 73,000 teachers as member affiliates of the NEA and is considered to be one of the most militant teacher associations in the United States. The militancy of the professional association is in part a reaction to a challenge by the aggressive policies of the powerful urban oriented American Federation of Teachers, which defeated the association in a major test of strength involving representative elections in Newark, the State's largest city. Teacher union militancy is further aggravated by the demographic situation in the United States in which a declining school age population appears to have less need for an increasing number of trained teachers. Many older teachers feel threatened by the pressure of the young seeking entry into the profession; many first and second year teachers are embittered by board policies, reminiscent of the depression era, that refuse to grant tenure because of the ease with which replacements can be made.

8. Before the job squeeze for teachers reached its present proportions, the Commissioner sought to enlarge the spectrum of talent available to the teaching profession by gaining the State Board of Examiners' approval for the development of an appeal procedure for teacher certification. This procedure permits individuals with unusual skill, experience and aptitude to become fully certified teachers or administrators without completing course requirements. Although this machinery facilitates innovative hiring policies by boards of education, it came too late to provide meaningful assistance during the State's teacher shortage and is presently viewed with suspicion by holders of the standard teaching certificate. It is, however, a possibility that has in fact been used approximately fifty times since its inception in December, 1968, and may be used with greater frequency as schools' programmes reflect the trend toward career education by bringing additional professionals from the "world of work" into the classroom.

Differentiated Staffing Projects

9. The Department's major effort to work with the teacher associations in innovation is a differentiated staffing project which is operating in 60 school districts under Department leadership. This project attempts to determine the results of a school organisation that utilizes master teachers, standard teachers and classroom aides in a task-organised plan designed to allow flexibility and increased individualisation of instruction. Under the "Individually Guided Education/Multi-Unit School" project, such innovations as team

1) Louis E. Raths, Teaching for Learning, Columbus, Ohio, Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., 1969.

teaching, multi-age grouping, peer instruction, open classroom, inquiry-directed learning and continuous progress learning are carried out by a teaching group in a multi-age, non-graded instructional and research unit. Local teachers' associations have been under increasing pressure from their executive staff to resist the continuation of this project. The State association's leadership characterises differentiated staffing as an attempt to distinguish between teachers and thus weaken their unity. Individual teachers in the State are caught in a dilemma: while they recognise the range of talent, interest and enthusiasm among teachers and would like to maximise the impact of these talented people on the instructional programme of the school, they realise that it is difficult to do this without upsetting the existing salary structure based on length of service and college credits. At present, the differentiated staffing projects in selected school districts have met with the approval of the participating faculty; these projects have yet to undergo the test of negotiation. We are hopeful that in the near future, some teacher-board negotiating process will reflect the elements of differentiated staffing.

Upward Social Mobility and Credit Restructuring

10. This discussion now turns from an emphasis on parents', citizens' and teachers' concerns regarding the educational system to those of its "consumers", the students. One of the major problems in American education is the expectation that the great majority of youth will complete an academic high school programme. The high school curriculum was predicated on the assumption that courses will lead either to college entrance or a technical skill. American colleges have been most accommodating in this regard. With the development of State and community colleges it can be said that there is a college available for any person with moderate intelligence. Skills, however, are a different matter. Saleable skills cannot be bestowed by social fiat; they must be immediately responsive to criteria developed by persons and institutions outside of the educational system. Yet local school districts have great difficulty in gaining positive public reaction to the concept of vocational education. Parents of lower socio-economic status tend to reject vocational training as an attempt on the part of the establishment to prevent their children's upward social mobility. Middle class parents whose children reject college prep courses are dismayed and tend to exert pressure on both the school and their child to conform to their college preparatory expectations. As a result, a large percentage of high school students are spending a great deal of time in general courses which are similar in form if not content to their college prep counterparts.

11. Given America's staggering youth unemployment figures - 19 per cent of youth between ages 17 and 21 are currently unemployed - United States Commissioner of Education Sidney P. Marland has placed a top priority on attacking this problem by urging schools to provide youth with the education and training appropriate to their ambitions. New Jersey's Commissioner of Education has also been trying to influence local decision makers to the importance of career education, in part, by initiating a major restructuring of the State's high school credit system. A serious administrative problem in creating a high school programme responsive to career courses has been a credit structure which has valued college preparatory and general courses over those with more direct skill training. Since the so-called "general course" is patterned on a college preparatory course and is credited equally, enrollment in these courses tends to release the student and the instructor from accountability for specific learning activity.

Depending on the high school population, these general courses do little more than house youngsters whose abilities range from slightly above average in upper socio-economic

districts to illiterates in districts on the lower end of the socio-economic ladder. Students in these courses generally share one common fate: they have been withdrawn from competition on the academic ladder. A small group of youngsters who have made a vocational choice and who are no longer concerned with the trappings of academia are going about the business of acquiring a hard skill which should be marketable upon completion of their high school programme. In America, education's major preoccupation is with upward social mobility; this concept is the yardstick against which most parents judge the adequacy of a school programme. Upward social mobility is viewed by most to be possible only through attendance and graduation from college. There is impressive evidence to demonstrate that this is no longer true except for a few who have unusual ability and who can profit from the educational opportunities offered by the nation's most prestigious colleges and universities.

12. The credit structure in New Jersey, as in all other States, has been based on the Carnegie unit, which was developed to standardize the crediting of high school course work to simplify the job of college university admissions officers. Invented in 1909 by a college-dominated group, this structure has unwittingly encouraged the proliferation of general courses and tended to discourage students from taking so-called non-homework subjects. Following the recommendation of the Commissioner, the New Jersey Board of Education has passed a rule equalising credit earned with time spent in class, and designed to develop a flexible crediting procedure based on the needs of the individual learner.

This rule has gone into effect from the State's ninth graders (in the first stage of its implementation), and is presently under increasing attack by those who believe in a traditional hierarchy of subject matter. The concept of a hierarchy of subject matter has hampered educational programming since colonial days. Even that paradigm of practicality, Benjamin Franklin, was thwarted in his attempts to develop a people's academy in Philadelphia by the then conventional wisdom regarding the importance of Latin and Greek.(1)

The Guide to Student Rights and Responsibilities

13. Finally, from 1967 until 1970 many of the State's high schools were undergoing serious problems of student unrest. Student disruption presented an unanticipated problem to local school districts; the Commissioner organised the State Department to be responsive to this situation. Department task forces were assigned on a daily basis from one trouble spot to another. County Superintendents of Schools (the Department's field representatives) routinely responded to the distress calls of local administrators and boards. While the Commissioner fully supported the right and duty of boards to maintain order in local high schools, he also sought to understand and alleviate the causes - in addition to treating the symptons - of student disorder.

He further attempted to demonstrate that involvement was more desirable than repression in responding effectively to the climate of fear prevalent in many crisis-torn schools. Thus, in the summer of 1970, in an effort to better understand the concerns of high school youth, the Commissioner involved a group of college students in what amounted to a feasibility study for the creation of an Office of Student Affairs, soon to be realised within this Department. This group of students published a newspaper of low quality, which contained points of view not carefully developed or explicated. The reaction on the part of school administrators and boards of education was immediate and decisive in its criticism of the Commissioner's actions in this matter. Commissioner Marburger accepted that criticism and acted upon it with immediate results, seeking out his critics to determine their major area of concern.

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1) John Hardin Best, ed., Benjamin Franklin on Education, New York, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1962, pp. 171 ff.

14. As a result of a series of meetings during 1971 a joint committee of the State's secondary school principals, superintendents and student council leaders, with the technical assistance of the State Department of Education, developed an award-winning booklet "A Guide to Student Rights and Responsibilities." With the endorsement of every major educational organisation in the State, 500,000 copies of this pamphlet were published and distributed to all public secondary schools in the State, as well as to many organisations and community groups throughout New Jersey and the United States. This successful model of involvement of students and leaders of the professional educational establishment in State Department policy-making is further evidence of the Commissioner's creative and sensitive leadership.

CONCLUSION

15. The "Our Schools" project, educational assessment and school improvement programmes, teacher certification appeal procedure, differentiated staffing project, credit restructuring and Office of Student Affairs are examples of the efforts of one State department of education to assist local school systems in solving problems relating to providing good learning experiences to a clientele with changing needs. Each of these is developed as continuing objectives in the realisation of the Department's overall mission:

> "To ensure that each person in the State of New Jersey will be provided the opportunity to achieve his full educational potential in accordance with his own unique abilities, goals and aspirations."

This mission statement, with its accompanying continuing objectives, should be understood as in part responsive to the Department's legislative mandate, but also as an expression, in the management terms of creative educational planning, of the Department's creative spirit and direction.

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